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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



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16 April 1986

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EAST-WEST RELATIONS

U.S. ATTEMPTS TO RESTRICT EUROPEAN TRADE WITH USSR ASSAILED

LD112255 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 11 Feb 86

[Nikolay Gorshkov commentary]

[Excerpts] The American Undersecretary of State John Whitehead has made yet another trip to Europe, this time trying to lobby America's allies into further restricting their high-tech trade with the Soviet Union. Our commentary is by Nikolay Gorshkov, and this is what he writes:

It's an open secret that the Common Market is not big enough for West European producers. It is a no less open secret that the Soviet market is second to none in terms of its vastness and opportunities. So it's only too natural for West European businesses to look anxiously at those opportunities being multiplied by the grandiose projects envisaged in the guidelines for economic development in the USSR up to the year 2000. No wonder businessmen from 56 trading nations from all over Europe and around the world gathered in the Swiss ski resort of Davos, gave an enthusiastic support to Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's pledge to promote Soviet trade with the West.

Apart from yielding material benefits to both sides this cooperation creates a spirit of trust and better understanding so much needed for a more stable peace. Back in Geneva the Soviet and American leaders pledged to work towards this noble goal. We were taking this consideration into account signing a couple of days ago a new trade agreement with Britain envisaging a major boost to our mutual trade of up to 50 percent. This step in the right direction seems to have touched the United States administration on a tender spot. It was quick to react in a very negative way to any improvement in East-West trading ties. Since it is very unlikely that Mr Whitehead was authorized to offer West European producers a bigger share of United States markets instead, one can easily contemplate who stands to lose most if new restrictions on East-West trade are to be imposed.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### LEGAL BASIS OF CEMA COOPERATION

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 2, Feb 86 pp 18-21

[Article by Georgi Velyaminov, doctor of science (law): "Legal Basis of the CEMA Member-Countries' Present Cooperation"]

[Text]

The aim of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is to further deepen and improve cooperation, expedite socialist economic integration, plan and develop the national economies, accelerate economic and technical progress of the member-countries, raise the level of industrialization in those where industry is less developed, continuously increase labour productivity, gradually raise and equalize the economic levels and improve the well-being of the CMEA member-countries by uniting and coordinating their efforts.

This is the objective of the 1959 CMEA Charter which with certain amendments introduced in 1962, 1974 and 1979 is operative and valid now. The Charter specifies the legal basis of the CMEA member-countries' cooperation. Under their ever-strengthening interaction and intensified cooperation its legal foundations developed and were consolidated in an important document such as the 1971 Comprehensive Programme that determined the main guidelines of the CMEA member-countries' cooperation, specific measures and forms of their realization for the years ahead.

Intensification and perfection of cooperation and the development of the CMEA member-countries' integration is a process of the international socialist division of labour, of the rapprochement of their economies and formation of the modern, highly effective economic structures being consciously regulated by the CMEA member-countries' Communist and Workers' Parties

and governments on a planned basis. In the course of this process deep and stable ties in the main economic, scientific and technical spheres are formed, their international market expands and strengthens, goods and monetary relations improved and favourable conditions are created for the more effective use of the countries' resources and wider application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, an indispensable prerequisite of socialist society's development.

The CMEA is based on the member-countries' sovereign equality. In line with this, each member-country, irrespective of its economic potential, population size or contributions made to the Council budget has equal rights, equal duties and one vote in any CMEA body.

The commitments accepted by the CMEA member-countries and fixed in the Charter are: to assure implementation of the CMEA bodies' recommendations, help the Council and its officials perform their functions as written in the CMEA Charter, supply the CMEA with the necessary materials, inform the Council about fulfilment of its adopted recommendations and understandings reached within the Council.

Economic, scientific and technical cooperation of the CMEA countries is being accomplished in accord with the principles of socialist integration, on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in each country's internal affairs, full equality, mutual benefit and fraternal assistance.

In agreement with the Charter the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is authorized to adopt *recommendations and decisions* through its bodies acting within their competence and can conclude international agreements with member-countries, with other countries and international organizations.

Recommendations cover economic, scientific and technical cooperation problems and decisions—organizational and procedural questions. Implementation by countries of the CMEA recommendations is carried out by decisions adopted by the governments of those states or other bodies in those countries legally competent to do so. Decisions come into force from the day of

signing a protocol at a meeting of the respective CMEA body if not stipulated otherwise in the decision itself or following from the nature of it.

The CMEA cannot pass recommendations and decisions not meeting the interests of the countries' concerned as all recommendations and decisions are adopted in CMEA bodies only with all countries consent. Recommendations and decisions are not binding on the CMEA members which did not participate in their adoption. However, any of these countries can in future adopt the recommendations and decisions accepted by other CMEA member-countries.

According to the amendment to the Charter made in 1979, consideration of questions referring to economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the CMEA bodies, along with the recommendations on the above questions, can result in *understandings* between all or certain CMEA members on realizing measures agreed within the CMEA.

CMEA as a fully competent intergovernmental organization concludes international agreements with other countries and international organizations. In particular CMEA has agreements with the governments of a number of the CMEA member-countries on questions pertaining to the CMEA bodies' residence in these countries, agreements on cooperation with countries not CMEA members (Yugoslavia, Finland, Iraq, Mexico, Nicaragua, Mozambique), agreements with the CMEA member-countries' international economic organizations [IBEC, IIB, Interelektro, Interchim, Central Dispatching Board (CDB), Common Waggon Pool (CWP), etc.], and other organizations (IAEA, the Danube Commission, WIPO, UNIDO, etc.).

Specific measures undertaken in the material production, scientific and technical spheres coordinated within CMEA are, as a rule, realized through the conclusion of *multilateral intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements and civil-law treaties* as well as bilateral agreements concluded between interested countries and their economic organizations. Most agreements are of the following types:

*general agreements on the development and improvement of cooperation* between the CMEA member-countries in different branches of economy, production, science and technology. General agreements are usually concluded at summit level, they



envisage long-term multilateral cooperation between interested CMEA member-countries in developing mutual ties in relevant industrial, scientific and technical fields on the basis of coordinated programmes. To fulfil the planned tasks chosen departments and economic organizations in the countries concerned additionally conclude multilateral and bilateral agreements on realization of the cooperation measures provided for in the general agreements. It is characteristic that general agreements are concluded in the key sectors of modern production, as, for instance, the General Agreement of 1981 on multilateral cooperation in creating a Unified Standardized Base for electronic products aimed at more fully satisfying the participating countries' requirements for these products; the General Agreement of 1982 on multilateral cooperation in the development and manufacture of industrial robots under which it is planned to augment the CMEA countries' robot fleet up to 200,000 units by 1990; under the General Agreement of 1982 on multilateral cooperation in microprocessor industry engineering work is progressing on designing nearly 100 types of machines and various equipment with microprocessor devices; the General Agreement of 1985 on multilateral cooperation on designing and organizing specialized and cooperated manufacture of flexible production systems for mechanical engineering and their wide introduction into the economy;

*multilateral agreements on cooperation* in jointly constructing new and expanding existing projects (capacities). These agreements are mostly concluded at intergovernmental level. The project under construction by the joint efforts of the interested countries becomes the property of the country on whose territory it is built and which is a future exporter of its products. This country assumes responsibility for organization of the project's construction and its future operation. The countries, future importers of the project's products, participate in the construction by granting special-purpose credits, by supplying equipment, building materials, mechanisms and in some instances by building part of the project with their own labour force and means. Compensation for the future importer's outlays on construction is in the form of guaranteed deliveries of the project's finished products over a certain period on terms mutually beneficial for the exporter and importers;

*multilateral agreements (treaties) on specialization and cooperation in production.* Further perfection of the profile of the international division of labour which has formed between the countries is an indispensable prerequisite for accelerating the transition of the CMEA countries' economies to the intensive way of development assuring the optimum and most efficient production. A reliable foundation for this is the ever-increasing international specialization and cooperation in production going on in all economic spheres. Such cooperation makes it possible to arrange most profitable large-series production of high-quality goods and reduce production costs. A vivid example is cooperation in manufacturing vehicles at the USSR's VAZ and KamAZ works. A number of sub-assemblies and components for these vehicles are manufactured in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Under the General Agreement on multilateral international specialization and cooperation in production of computer facilities a unified Ryad system has been designed and produced. Owing to this the CMEA member-countries meet their main demands for computer facilities within the socialist community. Great progress in specialization and cooperation in production has been achieved in atomic engineering in which, through the realization of corresponding agreements, nearly 50 associations and enterprises in several CMEA countries and Yugoslavia participate. In the agricultural machine-building industry also agreements pertaining to 262 types of machines have been operative for more than ten years already, and so on.

By early 1985 the number of multilateral agreements on specialization and cooperation had reached 150, of these, more than 110 are in the mechanical engineering sector. On a bilateral basis too the specialization and cooperation is forging ahead. Over 1,000 agreements are operating. The bilateral and multilateral forms do not oppose but supplement one another.

Multilateral agreements on specialization and cooperation in production are, generally speaking, concluded by the countries' economic organizations but the most important of them at intergovernmental or interdepartmental level. These agreements specify the ranges of specialized products, their technical and eco-

conomic characteristics, exporting and importing countries, volumes and delivery times. Specific deliveries are based on bilateral contracts;

*multilateral agreements on scientific and technical cooperation for concrete purposes.* These agreements are usually concluded at the interdepartmental level and contain the sides' commitments on implementing R & D programmes for particular types of products and technologies for several years ahead. Under such agreements large-scale cooperation is being realized in scientific and technical research as well as joint R & D through establishing research institutes, design organizations, joint laboratories, departments, etc. In the fraternal countries nearly 3,000 research and design organizations participate in cooperation and over 20,000 joint research projects have been completed.

In order to concentrate efforts on the most important and prospective directions of scientific and technical development a Comprehensive Programme of the CMEA Member-Countries' Scientific and Technological Progress up to the year 2000 has been elaborated as a basis for working out a coordinated scientific and technical policy. This programme is a new important mechanism of socialist economic integration. Preparation of agreements on its basis will make it possible to concentrate efforts and resources in the key sectors and assure a cardinal increase of labour productivity, maximum conservation of resources and a steady improvement of product quality. Consecutive realization of these agreements is a vital task during the present stage of integration.

The fraternal countries' *system of mutual trade* elaborated in the course of the many-year cooperation has its legal foundation on bilateral intergovernmental long-term (five-year) trade agreements. The latter are specified in annual bilateral protocols on mutual goods deliveries. Long-term agreements and annual protocols fix the amount and price of compulsory deliveries of the major mutually supplied goods and delivery conditions. Long-term agreements and annual protocols are a reliable means for providing the CMEA member-countries with necessary machinery, raw materials and other goods on a planned basis.

Mutual goods deliveries envisaged in the intergovernmental agreements and protocols are carried out on contract terms by the countries' organizations. Contracting parties are guided by CMEA documents outlining their rights and duties. The most important of these documents are:

General Terms for Deliveries of Goods Between Organizations of the CMEA Member-Countries (CMEA GTD);

General Terms of Assembly and rendering other technical services connected with the CMEA member-countries' deliveries of machines and equipment (CMEA GTA);

General Terms for the Technical Servicing of Machines, Equipment and Other Products Supplied by the CMEA Member-Countries Organizations (CMEA GTTS);

General Terms of Specialization and Cooperation in Production Between the CMEA Member-Countries Organizations (CMEA GTSC).

Of great importance in the CMEA member-countries' cooperation is the currency-financial mechanism. It makes a balanced and stable foundation for achieving the goods turnover and the countries' exchange of services. Specially set up intergovernmental organizations—the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC) and the International Investment Bank (IIB), promote cooperation in the sphere of international currency-financial relations. The transferable ruble is the CMEA member-countries' collective currency. It is used for settlements in trade, non-trade, credit and other operations. Contract prices for goods and services in the mutual trade as well as the cost of jointly constructed industrial and other projects are established in transferable rubles.

For cooperation in certain industrial, scientific and technical spheres, besides the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, international *specialized economic organizations* are formed by this community of countries. They are usually established under intergovernmental agreements. There are two main types of international organizations: inter-state economic organizations dealing mostly with coordination of the activities in particular cooperation spheres and inter-

national economic organizations set up to coordinate specific cooperation and joint economic activities. All in all over 50 of such organizations have been established by the CMEA member-countries or with their participation.

The contractual consolidation of the ever expanding ties between the CMEA member-countries, their enterprises and organizations is of great importance for the precise realization and effectiveness of the mutual economic relations. In the light of the resolutions adopted at the 1984 Summit Economic Conference aimed at accelerating the transition of the CMEA member-countries' economies to the intensive way of development and raising their effectiveness the Session of the Council (39th Session, October 1984) outlined, among other things, the tasks which would improve the contractual system of cooperation. Implementation of the Session's decision will assure the comprehensive elaboration and accomplishment of scientific, technical and industrial tasks and place higher responsibility on the parties for the fulfilment of their commitments.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

REVIEW OF THE JOURNAL AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 12, 1985

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 24 Dec 85 pp 1-4

[Text] Neocolonialism as the source of international conflicts and wars is the subject of an article by Doctor of Philosophy M. Mnatsakanyan.

He writes that while promoting social expansion in newly liberated nations by exporting capitalist production relations and stimulating the growth of local bourgeoisie, imperialism, which is a tool to exploit nations, is also a means of the imperialist counterrevolution working against progressive forces in developing countries.

The wars and conflicts unleashed by neocolonialism reflect its sociopolitical and class functions: to force the revolutionary process in newly liberated countries to slow down, topple revolutionary governments, and settle international conflicts in favour of the capitalist system.

Relying on military force and trying to suppress the national liberation revolutions, imperialism has unleashed a series of neocolonial wars and stirred up military conflicts between newly liberated countries. Since 1945, there have been about 150 such wars and conflicts. These include clashes between developing countries, neocolonial wars, and a chain of aggressive wars in Indochina, the Middle East, etc.

Equally dangerous, the author adds, are neocolonialism's attempts to impose the arms race on and encourage militarism in the Third World. The U.S. invariably poses as a catalyst in such processes. The arming of reactionary forces, which can be used as police forces either on their own or coupled with the neocolonialists, whips up military tensions and the arms race in various Third World regions. As a result, Third World's arms spending amounts to a total of over a hundred billion dollars a year.

In conclusion the scholar notes that, as a source of all wars, military conflicts, the arms race and militarism in the zone of national liberation movements, neocolonialism is a bitter enemy of all nations and all progressive and peaceloving forces. All nations of the world, not only the objects of its expansion, seek to oppose neocolonialism. It would be, therefore, only logical for the national liberation struggle to be firmly linked with the current antiwar movement.

G. Galperin contributed an article headlined "Twenty Five Years of the UN Anti-Colonialism Declaration," dealing with the 25th anniversary of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The author says that the developing countries' anti-imperialist struggle increasingly stresses overcoming their crying economic backwardness and affirming the principles of a new international economic order. This is confirmed, among other things, by developing nations' active involvement in more than 30 world and regional trade and economic organisations.

Economic and commercial cooperation with CEMA nations greatly helps African and Asian countries tackle their social and economic issues. It is only too natural that the Soviet Union is making the greatest contribution to this cooperation. The USSR has more than 70 developing countries as its permanent partners and Soviet assistance to these nations has markedly increased since 1974. By 1985 over 1,800 economic units had been built in the Third World with Soviet assistance, and another 1,300 enterprises are being built or blueprinted. Many of them are of crucial importance for the growth and updating of the national economies and social infrastructure of the countries concerned.

In the past twenty five years the destinies of Asian and African countries have taken different turns, G. Galperin says in conclusion. They continue to develop in a difficult situations, exposed to massive attempts by imperialism to take neocolonialist revenge. There is however every ground to say, the author continues, that the second half of the 20th century has been keyed by the collapse of colonialism, a vital process on mankind's record. This process is irreversible.

"The Centenary of the Indian National Congress" is the headline of an article by E. Komarov.

In its 100 years the Indian National Congress has traversed a long and difficult road, he writes. The INC guided India's triumphant national liberation struggle, steering the nation's independent growth and its foreign policy of peace which has won India a high prestige worldwide.

Upon coming to power at the head of the victorious national liberation movement, the INC remains the ruling and dominant party which acts in the environment of bourgeois parliamentarism, differentiating India from many other developing countries where the propertied classes exercise government through authoritarian regimes.

Aimed at overcoming the legacy of colonialism and feudalism and affirming the principles of democracy, the INC has promoted the activity of the public at large, which is a major achievement of independent India and in earnest of its future progress.

Indian-Soviet friendship and cooperation is a major time-honoured principle of the INC's foreign policy, the article continues. Having received a new

impetus from the official visit of friendship by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the Soviet Union in June 1985, Soviet-Indian cooperation will continue promoting the interests of the two nations and those of world peace.

The magazine also published the following articles: "Laos. Years of Development" by A. Yerovchenkov; "Pretoria's Poisoned Weapons" by B. Sokolov; a selection of materials under the general heading "Japan-85"; and other articles and materials.

(APN)

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KAHANE'S 'SOLUTION' TO PALESTINIAN PROBLEM ASSAILED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 (signed to press 22 Nov 85) p 18

[Article by V. Turadzhev: "Bloody Landmarks"]

[Text] "Every country has its hooligans. It just so happens that one of them got into the Knesset"--this is what Yitzhak Shamir, leader of the Likud party, had to say about the election of Rabbi Meir Kahane to the Israeli parliament last year.

A hooligan? This might be too mild a name for the fascist Zionist who gained notoriety when he was still the leader of the Jewish Defense League. At that time he organized gangster raids on Soviet establishments in Washington and New York, broke windows, planted bombs and set fires. Now this rabbi with a Brooklyn accent is holding rallies all over Israel to rant and rave about "the Chosen People." He is demanding the expulsion of Arabs "from all Israeli lands." According to the Zionist yardstick, this is not the State of Israel, but a much, much larger territory. He drives himself to the point of hysteria ranting against mixed marriages and even against common beaches for Jews and non-Jews, interspersing his sermon-lectures with quotations from the Old Testament and the Talmud.

Of course, this is a disgrace for a country calling itself civilized--to have a rabid racist and unbridled hooligan in its parliament. But what is even worse is that support for Kahane is growing in Israel, especially among young people. A survey of Israeli teenagers indicated that 40 (forty!) percent of them support Kahane or his doctrine. They even have their own "uniform"--a yellow shirt--and they worship their "fuehrer," whom they see as a "strong" individual capable of solving the many problems that have put the country on the verge of political and economic collapse.

The hysterical atmosphere of the gatherings Kahane organizes reminds people of the dismal days of the birth of fascism in Europe. There is the same frantic fanaticism, the same heart-rending wails and the same ideological singlemindedness and intolerance. And there are the same resolute fighters, this time in yellow shirts instead of brown ones, who are ready to smash the skull of anyone who criticizes the new madman. "What appeals to them most in Kahane's ideas," said a director of the Jerusalem Leyer Aluf Hareven Institute, "is the intolerance for Arabs."

As soon as he took his seat in parliament, Kahane introduced several bills in the Knesset which testify clearly to the rabbi's racist ideology. He demanded, for example, that all non-Jews have the legal status of "temporary resident aliens"--that is, people not endowed with all civil rights. Furthermore, those who decline this status should be deported. Obviously, he was referring to Arabs--the native population of the country. Kahane also suggested that they not be allowed to live in Jerusalem. He demanded a 5-year prison term for any non-Jew with an intimate relationship with a Jewish woman. This is nothing other than a Zionist version of the Nazi laws on the "purity of the Aryan race"!

The bacilli of fascism did not make their appearance in Israel today or yesterday. Israeli communists have pointed to the root of evil in the policy of occupation, territorial annexation and the oppression of the Palestinians. These bacilli are present in the very ideology of Zionism, which proclaims the racial superiority, worldwide historic destiny and "messianic mission" of the Jews. Zionists regard all other people as "inferiors" and the Palestinians are fully aware of what this means. It is precisely in the Palestinian issue that Zionism displayed its fascist entrails. "The inferior race will soon be extinct. I see no salvation for it"--Max Nordau, one of the "fathers" of Zionism, said about the Palestinians. His followers have done and are doing everything to make this sinister prophecy come true. Deir Yasin, Sabra and Shatila and, just recently, the suburb of the capital of Tunisia are the bloody landmarks on the Zionists' road to their sacred goal--"Great Israel."

Shamir called Kahane a hooligan in an attempt to dissociate himself from this odious man. Kahane, he implied, is a bad Zionist, but we, the leaders of Israel, are good Zionists. But these "good" Zionists committed another act of state terrorism when they ordered a raid on a country more than 2,000 kilometers away. And it is useless for them to disown Kahane, because he is one of their own. "There will never be peace between Jews and Arabs," the fascist rabbi told a NEWSWEEK correspondent in August of this year. A month later the Israeli Government sent six military planes on a gangster raid, and around 150 Palestinians and Tunisians were killed and wounded.

"We," Kahane said about himself and his followers, "are the heralds of the Israel of the future." He had every reason to say this. A recent public opinion poll in Israel indicated that if elections to the Knesset were to be held now, the Kakh party, headed by the belligerent obscurantist-rabbi, would win two or three seats. This would be a more successful starting point than the one the Nazi Party in Germany secured in the 1928 elections--5 years before Hitler took over.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SECURITY ISSUES IN PACIFIC REGION, KOREAN PENINSULA EXAMINED

Soviet Solidarity Committee Meets

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 p 25

[Text] The results of the international conference "Forty Years After Victory Over Japanese Militarism and Tasks of the Peace Movement in the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean" were discussed at the session of the Asian Commission of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Countries of Asia and Africa.

The director of the commission, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member G. F. Kim, noted that the Khabarovsk forum, in which envoys of democratic and anti-imperialist forces from all five continents of the planet took part, was a significant event in the development of the anti-war movement. He recalled that in Khabarovsk representatives of various political views and persuasions displayed unanimity in their evaluation of the current dangerous international situation and indicated that the reason for tension lies in the policy of the imperialist powers, carrying out the arms race and interfering in the internal affairs of peoples, including the countries of the Asian-Pacific region.

The most important task of the Soviet Solidarity Committee, G. F. Kim stated, is to more actively develop ties and contacts with democratic social organizations in foreign countries and to more widely attract them to the anti-war movement. Anti-imperialist peace-loving forces can have a positive influence in deciding vital questions of today, including in the Asian-Pacific region.

Speaking at the session of the Asian Commission, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa A. S. Dzasokhov and committee secretary M. M. Zeynalov pointed out the necessity of using to the maximum degree the results of the Khabarovsk forum and its documents for further development of the anti-war movement in the countries of Asia.

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# Korean Unification Question Discussed

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 p 25

[Text] This year marks 10 years since the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on the Korean question. The resolution demands disbandment of the so-called UN command in Korea, withdrawal from the country of all foreign troops and creation of favorable conditions for unification of the North and South. The adoption of this document was an important victory for all progressive forces who supported the just struggle of the Korean people.

The United States of America up to now has not fulfilled one article of the indicated resolution. Even more, American troops are continuing their 40-year occupation of South Korea. They arrived there under the pretext of disarming Japanese troops after the victorious conclusion of the war in the Far East. The 40,000 strong U.S. Army supports the Seoul regime which is carrying out a policy of militarizing the country and suppressing democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Washington has transformed the southern part of the Korean peninsula into a hotbed of dangerous tension in the Far East, deploying here 700 to 1,000 nuclear weapons. The Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military alliance, which is acquiring a clearer and clearer outline, poses a serious threat to peace.

In connection with the 40th anniversary of American troops' occupation of South Korea, an Appeal from the Government of the PDRK to the Governments of all States of the World was published in Pyongyang. In this document attention is drawn to the dangerous situation created in the south of the Korean peninsula as a result of the continuing occupation by U.S. troops. It contains a call to support the struggle of the Korean people for normalization of the situation in the region and for peaceful unification of the motherland on a democratic basis, without interference from outside.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SOUTH AFRICAN PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN SEEN UNSUCCESSFUL

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 (signed to press 22 Nov 85) pp 26-28

[Article by B. Sokolov: "Pretoria's Poisoned Weapon"]

[Text] The atmosphere in South Africa was strained to the maximum this summer and fall. In an attempt to quell the mounting wave of antiracist demonstrations, its rulers declared a state of emergency in many parts of the country. To disperse demonstrators--and on any other pretext--members of punitive forces fire, fire and fire again.... There have already been hundreds of deaths and thousands of arrests. Minority rule is being maintained with the aid of overt and monstrous brutality, comparable to the evil crimes of the Nazis. But the apartheid regime is not disregarding, especially now, more subtle methods, such as propaganda intended to neutralize the "frontline" states by brainwashing their citizens, to justify the criminal system of cruel racial discrimination in the eyes of the world public, especially Westerners, and to discourage public support of the national liberation struggle in the south of the African continent.

Within South Africa itself, the propaganda efforts of the racists have little impact. Of course, the authorities have banned dozens of opposition press organs. Even the authoritative RAND DAILY MAIL, which indulged in excessive "criticism," is no longer being published. Censors strike out all references in newspaper articles to the number of victims of repressive actions and reports of successful armed actions by patriots. But self-deception is senseless and even the best efforts will not deceive the oppressed majority: It has learned about the regime's "charming qualities" through personal experience.

The Johannesburg STAR, which is considered to be a liberal newspaper, accurately compared the life of the people in the bantustans--the pseudo-independent reservations for Africans--to the situation of the inmates of Hitler's death camps (now South Africa has its own concentration camps, in the literal and not the figurative sense). Unbridled terrorism reigns in "white" regions, where blacks have no political rights whatsoever. Therefore, the appeals of some white politicians and businessmen for the cultivation of the spirit of "free enterprise" and the ideals of the "consumer society" in the African population are objectively destined to fail. Only the members of the tribal elite who have been given positions of leadership in the bantustans, the



extremely thin substratum of the "black bourgeoisie" and the few skilled--that is, relatively high-paid--African workers are listening to them.

The regime's staff propagandists want to create a rift between the Africans on one side and the "colored" population and Indians on the other. This is precisely the purpose of Pretoria's constitutional reform, as a result of which collaborators from the last two communities have been given limited access (or, more precisely, the illusion of access) to power within the framework of a tricameral parliament, where the white racists still rule.\*

The government-controlled mass media launched a campaign to convince these communities and liberal whites to support the new constitution by frightening them with the prospect of African majority rule, which would make life "unbearable" for the rest of the population. It did not work! Everyone knows that the Charter of Freedom, the policy document of the legal and illegal democratic organizations of South Africa, including the largest, the African National Congress (ANC), uniting members of different races, clearly says that "each person whose home stands on African land is a full-fledged inhabitant of this country, but only on the condition that he completely and consistently acknowledge equality and freedom for all."

More than 80 percent of the "colored" and Indian voters boycotted the 1984 parliamentary elections. The myths of the racists are obviously unfit for domestic consumption, and they are too late: Who will hear the propagandistic "muse" over the din of gunfire?

Propaganda for export is another matter. It is being conducted on a broad scale, each and every day, under the supervision of the Ministry of Information, whose budget--over 16 million rands\*\*--does not rank far below the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) has the most powerful transmitters on the continent. Its foreign service, called "Radio South Africa" (RSA), with a special subdivision for Bantu broadcasts, broadcasts programs for overseas listeners, which can be heard for more than 850 hours a week in all, 700 hours of which are broadcast in 11 African languages.

The torrent of radio propaganda inundates primarily neighboring countries--Botswana ("Radio Bophuthatswana," established by the SABC in the bantustan of the same name, broadcasts programs in Setswana and English), Lesotho ("Radio Sesotho"), Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi, as well as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (in Swahili and English). The job of the racists is simplified on the technical level by the fact that the domestic information systems of these states, which began virtually from scratch, are still quite young. Even now, the national radio stations cannot broadcast

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\* For more detail, see V. Shubin, "South Africa. Between the Hammer and the Anvil," *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA*, 1985, No 3; V. Sovetov, "Charter of Freedom vs. P. Botha's 'Constitution'," *ibid.*, 1985, No 6.

\*\* At the beginning of 1983 the rand was equivalent to 0.92 U.S. dollars, and at the end of 1984 the figure was 0.54 dollars.

programs to all parts of their own countries; the circulation figures of printed publications are usually quite low--this is the result of limited resources and of the low rate of public literacy.

Special mention must be made of three subversive radio stations which began broadcasting about a year ago--in the first months of the continuing socio-political storm in the apartheid state. One of these, with the pretentious name "Truth," is under the control of the South African special services. Located near the Angolan border, it openly advocates the overthrow of the legitimate government of Angola and transmits, in particular, instructions in code to saboteurs planted in this country. Another broadcasts programs in Spanish from Transvaal Province to influence Cuban internationalists in Angola and slander Angolan-Cuban cooperation, which is playing a major role in safeguarding the security and economic development of the People's Republic of Angola. The target of the third station is the Republic of Zimbabwe. As a bulletin from the office of the UN permanent observer from the South African ANC said, "the work of all three radio stations is coordinated by a single center and is openly hostile to independent African states."

The racist propaganda devotes considerable attention to the molding of public opinion in Western Europe and North America. The South African Ministry of Information allocates around half a million dollars a year just for the publication and distribution, at a special low price, of 7,500 copies of the "South African Yearbook," depicting the domestic and foreign policies of the Pretoria regime in a best possible light. Branches of the South Africa Foundation, a lobbying organization established back in 1960 by South African businessmen for the purpose of "restoring trust" in the apartheid state, are located in the majority of Western countries. The "Bruderbond," the secret alliance of the most reactionary Afrikaaner groups, has a similar foundation. South African propaganda organs and foundations have a great deal of influence on such leading American newspapers and magazines as the WALL STREET JOURNAL, NEW YORK TIMES and BUSINESS WEEK, which are conducting a campaign to encourage foreign investments in the South African economy. According to some reports, the South African Government tried to buy the WASHINGTON STAR through third parties. A special propaganda magazine published in South Africa, TO THE POINT, is circulated widely in the West.

What kind of poor excuses for ideas are the racist masters of "psychological warfare" trying to sell on the foreign market? One of the main postulates of their strategy, formulated by the minister of information soon after the events in Soweto, states: "If we can convince Africa of our stability, the rest of the world will be more willing to accept us." It will be necessary, he stressed, to prove to "the majority of states in black Africa that the main watershed does not separate whites from blacks, but communists from anti-communists." (We must make the parenthetical remark that racism and anti-communism, regardless of the color of their adherents' skins, always go hand in hand.)

Within the framework of this strategy, South African propaganda is publicizing the "successes" the country achieved as a result of the "stability" secured by the apartheid regime. In its commentaries, RSA asserts that "free

enterprise, which has proved to be effective in practice, is losing the propaganda war because leftist intellectuals (that is, supporters of socialism and communism--B. S.) are able to present their cause in a better light." This means that the entire matter consists in opening the eyes of the public. To this end, the press and the radio stations carry the reports of Western news agencies (with a view to reliability, they seem to be saying, it is not we who are saying this, but impartial observers) about the economic difficulties and political complications in the "frontline" socialist-oriented states. The subtext is obvious: Until their leaders stop their confrontations with South Africa, the people of these countries will not have an acceptable standard of living. The antiracist position of the overwhelming majority of African states is ascribed to "the intrigues of world communism."

Therefore, the only salvation for neighboring countries is to refrain from struggle against the apartheid regime, reconcile themselves to their inherited economic dependence on South Africa and attach their national economies even more closely to the South African economy. Obviously, racist propaganda is not saying that it is precisely Pretoria's policy of aggression and support of subversive elements in the "frontline" states, especially Angola and Mozambique, that is forcing their governments to divert huge sums to defense at the expense of the public standard of living.

The racists are trying to instill the view of South Africa as a country of "universal prosperity" in the migrant workers employed in the South African mining industry on temporary contracts (from half a year to 18 months). The number of migrants from Botswana, for example, now reaches 45,000-60,000 (the population of this state is 1 million), migrants from Mozambique number 40,000 and those from Lesotho number 150,000. They usually earn twice as much in South African mines as in agriculture in their own countries. The subjective impressions of these people certainly cannot be ignored, but is there really any truth to the statements about the allegedly high standard of living of blacks in South Africa--even the "highest" in all Tropical Africa? After all, if this is true, then apartheid is a good thing and its opponents are enemies of their own people, "trouble-makers" and "terrorists."

All of these allegations are myths. Ten years ago the African population of South Africa ranked a modest 13th on the continent in terms of income, earning half as much on the average as the citizens of Zambia. On the average! The few hundred or thousand black entrepreneurs cannot be put on the same level as the millions of people in bantustans who have no means of subsistence whatsoever and are on the verge of starvation. From 1950 to the end of the 1970's, the income of the African population displayed a nominal, without adjustments for inflation, 2.5-fold increase while the income of the white population increased almost 5-fold--that is, the gap grew even wider. The same trend was still present later. According to the 20 February 1984 issue of the Johannesburg STAR, the average annual incomes of black, "colored," Asian and white families in 1983 were 190, 650, 900 and 1,600 rands. The gap between the lowest and highest indicators rose from 7.6 to 8.4 times within 10 years.

Another vigorously publicized myth is the supposed disappearance of the apartheid system, its eradication by means of "extraordinarily profound"



reforms. For example, in April 1985 racist propaganda loudly proclaimed the government's decision to repeal the laws prohibiting interracial marriages and extramarital relations--the most odious laws in South Africa, as Minister of Home Affairs F. W. De Klerk admitted. However..., the law on housing segregation, the cornerstone of the judicial edifice of apartheid, remained in effect, and the place of residence of mixed couples and their children will be decided in each specific case by an "administrative order." The reforms, even such "extremely radical" ones, are only giving the apartheid regime a more acceptable appearance in the eyes of the Western public and have had no effect on the institutions of racist minority rule, the repressive network and the very essence of the system--the exploitation and suppression of the black majority.

Pretoria's propaganda tries to take advantage of the firmly entrenched racial discrimination in the United States, Great Britain and several other Western countries and of the prejudices of their populations against "colored people." As liberal English researcher J. C. Laurence remarked, under the influence of the bourgeois mass media, which embroidered the truth about the apartheid regime, a large part of the Western public has closed its eyes to many loathesome aspects of South African reality. "Would the white West be so concerned about coexistence with South Africa if 4.3 million blacks in this country were oppressing 23 million whites and firing on unarmed white schoolchildren protesting the unequal system of education?" Laurence asked sarcastically. But this is precisely the situation in South Africa, as long as the words standing for skin colors are transposed.

The racists have recently made frequent use in their propaganda of lies fabricated expressly for them by certain imperialist groups. As recently as September and October, President P. Botha and his obedient South African press substantiated the "right" of their country to make raids on the territory of sovereign Angola with references to the "direct participation of Soviet and Cuban troops in the suppression of the Angolan people's resistance (the gangsters from UNITA--B. S.)." The people in Pretoria were unable to dream up this absolutely groundless lie: It was originally set in motion by official Washington.

The policy of "constructive cooperation" (or just cooperation) with the apartheid regime, which is being conducted by the U.S. administration and some other NATO countries despite their statements about prop sanctions against it, is helping the racist rulers advertise South Africa as a "bulwark against communism," doing everything within its power to secure the survival of the West in the face of the "communist threat." And if the defenders of this bulwark have to kill "internal enemies," too bad for the internal enemies. The end justifies the means.

This fractured logic still convinces some people in these countries, but the number of such gullible people is decreasing all the time. After all, everyone knows that you can fool some of the people all of the time and many of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.

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UPSURGE OF CHAUVINIST, NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY SEEN IN JAPAN

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 (signed to press 22 Nov 85) pp 33-35

[Article by N. Leshchenko, candidate of historical sciences: "In the Heat of Chauvinism"]

[Text] Calendars have long played an important role in the life of the inhabitants of the Land of the Rising Sun. Brought to Japan from China by Buddhist monks 13 or 14 centuries ago, they now decorate the homes of almost all Japanese. Calendars of a different kind, however, also exist in present-day Japan. They don't announce the change of seasons but are designed to create a certain political climate in the country. Their authors invent new holidays or resurrect old ones to commemorate myths and real events in Japan's history. Their "celebration" is used to propagandize the exclusivity of the Japanese people and to fuel nationalist and chauvinist feelings.

Politics in present-day Japan are marked by an intense ideological struggle between progressive and reactionary forces, and events from the distant past often serve as the object of this struggle. The reinforcement of nationalist trends has been reflected in many measures taken by Japanese ruling circles since the beginning of the 1960's. All of them are directly related to the country's history and pursue specific propaganda aims.

Many aspects of Japanese life attest to the upsurge of Japanese nationalism. In 1967, for example, the date of 11 February was again declared a Japanese national holiday and the legendary Emperor Jimmu, "descendant of the Sun Goddess" and founder of the present dynasty, returned to the pages of school textbooks. The "resurrection of the gods," as the progressive press aptly termed the restoration of kigensetsu,<sup>1</sup> took place in the space-age 1960's. With the approval of the authorities, this holiday is being used more and more extensively and actively by rightwing and nationalist forces to publicize their own ideas and plans. The restoration of this mythical date was supposed to convince the Japanese of the divine origins of the emperor and the Japanese people.

Prime Minister Nakasone, Minister of Foreign Affairs Abe, Chief Cabinet Secretary Fujinami and other government officials took part in the festivities commemorating the "day of the nation's founding" on 11 February 1985.



Nationalist tendencies were clearly demonstrated when the centennial of Meiji ishin was celebrated in 1968.<sup>2</sup> Widespread propaganda was designed to convince the Japanese people that Japan owed its successes to national unity under the emperor's aegis. In this way, they tried to raise the prestige of the emperor, which had declined after the war.

The results of a survey conducted in 1968 by the Ministry of Education provides some indication of the broad scales of nationalist feelings in the country: 47 percent of the respondents said that the qualities of the Japanese people make them superior to other people.

The centennial was celebrated during the years of the economic boom, when Japan became a highly developed industrial power with a perceptible role in international affairs. This created a favorable atmosphere for the fueling of nationalist and chauvinist feelings and the reinforcement of monarchic propaganda. The government used the anniversary to enhance Japan's prestige in the world. The history of the country over the last 100 years was portrayed as a brilliant advance from one achievement to another, and the national characteristics of the Japanese were given credit for all of these successes. To revive "patriotic spirit," to accomplish the ideological mobilization of the nation, to cultivate a sense of racial superiority in the Japanese and to portray Japan as a standard of excellence for the developing states in Asia--this was the flag, with nationalism evident in every stitch, that flew over the centennial festivities.

Ruling circles in the country are making every effort to strengthen the ideological basis of the capitalist system. This is the purpose, for example, of the theories about the unique nature of the Japanese culture--"nihon bunka ron"--and the Japanese nationality--"nihonjin ron." According to these theories, the Japanese are supposedly distinguished by a specific system of social relations and a unique type of character. The Japanese society is built on a unique principle of interpersonal relations in which "social harmony" is the norm. Japan is portrayed as a unique country, a country incomprehensible to foreigners.

The campaign to revive emperor worship occupies an important place in the nationalist propaganda. His participation in the festive ceremony commemorating the centennial of Meiji ishin proved that the Japanese monarchy is certainly not just symbolic. Rituals and ceremonies connected with emperor worship are being revived in earnest. The intensification of monarchic propaganda was also attested to by the November 1976 commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the day Japan's 124th emperor took the throne. The festive ceremony was attended by 7,500 people. It must be said that Japanese labor found a different way of "celebrating" this anniversary: Demonstrators carried posters saying "Emperor Hirohito Is a War Criminal" through Meiji Park.

The active monarchic propaganda in Japan is also attested to by the law the parliament passed in 1979 on gengo.<sup>3</sup> Progressive Japanese historians protested the system of chronology based on the reigns of different emperors. An appeal signed by Ienaga Saburo, Toyama Shigeki and Inoue Kiyoshi said that

this was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, the nationalist law was enacted. It is absolutely obvious that this was not simply a choice between two systems of chronology--the Japanese and the European--and it was not a gesture of respect for tradition. The purpose of this law is to perpetuate the monarchy by portraying the country's history as a continuous divine succession of emperors.

Shinto priests have an important part to play in the revival of the nationalist ideology. It was Shintoism that served the forces responsible for creating the cult of the "divine" emperor and his "divine" ancestors and for preaching the idea of Japan's sacred mission in Asia--the unification of all Eastern countries under Japanese rule.<sup>4</sup> The Shinto slogan "hakko ichu"--"eight corners under one roof"--became an imperialist slogan in 1937 during the Japanese aggression in China.

As early as the end of the 1950's, members of the government began participating in various Shinto rituals and holidays and the leaders of the ruling party launched a "movement" to revive Shintoism as the state religion. Since 1979 each prime minister has made a pilgrimage to the Ise Shinto shrine on 4 January to worship the "sacred gifts"--the sword, mirror and jasper pendants which were supposedly handed down to Jimmu, the first emperor, by his ancestor Amaterasu. All of this could be described as national tradition if it were not for the obvious artificial ideological emphasis that is being vigorously imposed on the people.

The bonds between government establishments and Shinto shrines and organizations are growing stronger, although Article 20 of the Japanese constitution says that "the government and its bodies shall refrain from conducting religious education and from all other religious activities."

The Yasukuni Shinto shrine, whose priests were once the spiritual mentors of the Japanese militarists, has not escaped the attention of political officials either. The most reactionary forces in the country are now turning it into their center. The lists of "patriots" kept in the shrine include the names of Tojo and other principal war criminals hanged in Sugamo Prison on 22 December 1948 after the international tribunal had sentenced them to death. The people guilty of starting the war are not only being justified but are also being elevated to the status of national heroes. The Japanese are being told that Japan should not have lost the war. Some people are trying to turn the place where the war criminals were executed into a war "relic," a monument to the memory of the "national" heroes who died for "great" Japan. They want to declare 15 August a "memorial day for those who died in the war" and thereby give the visits of officials to Yasukuni shrine a different meaning.

In April 1984 the Yasukuni shrine was visited by its zealous worshipper, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. This was not a "private visit" by the head of government, but a demonstration of the feelings of certain groups against the background of the broad propaganda campaign intended to revive the "spirit of nationality" and the ideas of the racial superiority and exclusivity of the Japanese. The ostentatious visits of the former centers of Japanese militarism, the Ise and Yasukuni shrines, by government officials are made in spite of the constitutional separation of church and state.

Militarism and nationalism have a broad sphere of action in present-day Japan. Since it is important to have soldiers who will carry out the wishes of ruling circles, the proper spirit must be cultivated in youth. One example of the assault on the minds of the younger generation is the case involving the revision of history textbooks in the schools, which had international repercussions. According to the Japanese practice, the Ministry of Education reviews textbooks once every 3 years. Last time it "improved" them in such a way that the governments of the PRC and South Korea protested the changes. It turned out that the compilers of the textbooks had misrepresented historical facts by portraying Japan's behavior before and during World War II in a favorable light and insisted on the "humane" nature of the Japanese occupation.

The truth about Japan's policy in China in the 1930's and in conquered territories during the war in the Pacific was removed from the textbooks. Apparently, the ministerial functionaries wanted to "guard" the younger generation against the knowledge of such horrifying episodes as the massacre of the civilian population of Nanking in 1937, the suppression of the anti-Japanese rebellion in Korea, the barbarous experiments on prisoners of war and the use of ammunition containing mustard gas and other poison gases, although Japan had signed the 1925 Geneva protocol banning chemical and bacteriological weapons.

The revision of the textbooks evoked a wave of protests even in Japan itself. The democratic public saw this as an attempt by ruling circles to falsify the history of World War II, justify aggression and make people forget the atrocities committed by the soldiers of the Imperial Japanese Army. The national teachers' union stated that the revision of textbooks, curricula and teaching aids represented purposeful influence on the younger generation in line with the policy of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. At the government's request, the system of public education was being placed at the service of militarist goals.

The "case" of Professor Saburo Ienaga has been making the rounds of the courts for 18 years now. Ienaga filed a suit in the Tokyo district court against the Ministry of Education, which had "censored" his high school history textbook by removing some facts from his work. Ministerial functionaries excised the statement that the USSR initiated the negotiation of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact. They also tried to remove the description of the war started by the Japanese militarists as an irresponsible action from the book. Saburo Ienaga believes that the atrocities committed by the Japanese in occupied territories and their contempt for moral and legal standards must be discussed. Having no wish to take part in the misrepresentation of history, the scholar appealed to the court, accusing the ministry of unconstitutional behavior.

The lower courts supported the historian and pronounced the ministry guilty of violating Article 21 of the Japanese constitution, which says that "freedom of speech, the press and all other forms of expression of opinions" is guaranteed in the country, and Article 23, guaranteeing the "freedom of scientific activity." But the Japanese Supreme Court rejected the suit, prolonged the already "marathon" trial and effectively came to the defense of the Ministry of Education. The Japanese democratic public regards the



supreme court position as another attempt by ruling circles to cultivate the ideals of militarism and chauvinism in the Japanese schools.

In 1981 the Japanese Government established "Northern Territories Day," celebrated on 7 February. The invalid claims on Soviet territory are intended to stir up nationalist feelings in the country and divert the attention of the laboring public from real socioeconomic problems.

Interest in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 is being artificially stimulated in Japan. In May 1984, for example, a parade was held in Kagoshima, in the country's south, to commemorate the anniversary of the "Imperial Japanese Navy's great victory in the war with Russia." The ceremony was officially organized by a private organization in Kagoshima Prefecture, the birthplace of Admiral Togo, who commanded the Navy in the Battle of Tsushima. Government spokesmen declined to comment on this undertaking, asserting that it was a private celebration. It is hardly likely, however, that a private organization would be capable of organizing a naval parade with the participation of foreign ships. Besides this, diplomats and naval officers from the United States, Great Britain, France and Turkey attended the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of Admiral Togo's death. Deputies from the Liberal Democratic Party also graced it with their presence, and the guests were welcomed by the governor of the prefecture and the mayor of the city.

It is obvious that ceremonies of this kind reflect militarist trends in present-day Japan and are fueling chauvinistic, revanchist feelings and hatred for the Soviet Union.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Kigensetsu, the date of the founding of the Japanese empire in 660 BC, is an official state holiday in Japan. It was instituted in 1873, banned after World War II, and revived, in spite of the opposition of democratic forces, with a new name--"kenkoku kinen-no hi" ("day of the nation's founding").
2. Meiji ishin is the name used by Japanese historians for the events of 1867-1868, which marked the beginning of the development of capitalism in the country. Japanese historians still have no unanimous view of these events, but Soviet historians view them as an incomplete bourgeois revolution.
3. Gengo is the system of chronology based on dynasties. It begins with the reign of Emperor Kotoku, who called the years of his reign the Taika era (645-650).
4. The imperial restoration in 1868 was accompanied by Shinto slogans.

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BOOK SEES 'INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR' AS NEOCOLONIALISM

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 (signed to press 22 Nov 85) p 59

[Review by A. Kuznetsov, candidate of economic sciences, of book "'Novoye mezhdunarodnoye razdeleniye truda': metamorfozy neokolonializma" ["New International Division of Labor": Metamorphoses of Neocolonialism] by V. M. Sokolinskiy, Moscow, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya," 1984, 208 pages: "New Addition to Neocolonial Arsenal"]

[Text] This book deals with a little-studied aspect of neocolonial exploitation: the relations between the imperialist and the so-called new industrial countries (NIC) within the framework of the "new international division of labor." The group of NIC's arose as a result of the polarization of the young emerging states. These are dynamically developing countries and territories with a capitalist export orientation, countries actively engaged in industrialization, as a result of which they already meet the requirements of the category of "developed countries" in terms of some indicators.

The most important difference between traditional neocolonialism and its latest modification--the "new international division of labor"--consists, as the author points out, in the fact that in one case imperialism profits from exploiting the economic underdevelopment of young states, and in the other case it profits from their development. This kind of "robbery through development" can now be seen in many NIC's, but the author quite justifiably focuses attention on South and Southeast Asia--a kind of "testing ground" for the most subtle neocolonial methods.

The author analyzes the main aspects of the "new international division of labor," presupposing "the designation of certain developing countries as producers and suppliers of specific types of manufactured goods for the world capitalist market" (p 58). This process has acquired unprecedented dimensions in the past decade.

The author singles out several recent trends in the transfer of production units. One is the gradual change of the product list of the transferred unit from a relatively simple variety to a more complex one. Another is the use of the economic differences of developing countries and their different rates of development by the developed capitalist world: "Already mastered simple



forms of production, which are growing more expensive due to rising labor costs, are being moved to the more underdeveloped countries" (p 98). For example, Japanese firms are curtailing the production of clothing and semi-conductors in South Korea because it is now more convenient for them to produce these items in Malaysia and Indonesia. The author generalizes his observation in the thesis of the current development of a three-link hierarchy in the world capitalist economy, consisting of developed capitalist centers (just over 20 states), capitalism's "bases of support" in the developing world, industrialized according to capitalist patterns (around 15 NIC's), and the underdeveloped periphery (over 100 states) (p 100).

The socioeconomic implications of neocolonial expansion are discussed at length in the work. The most typical is the growth of the foreign debts of NIC's, leading to slower economic development and higher inflation. Besides this, the Western countries are taking advantage of this debt dependence to turn the NIC's into their military bridgeheads.

Another consequence of the policies of present-day neocolonialism is the distinct differentiation of developing countries. The author cites the example of four export-oriented countries--South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong--where large national monopolies are taking shape and are beginning to export capital to other developing countries. V. Sokolinskiy concludes that new capitalist monopolies will gradually make their appearance in this region and will take part in the exploitation of other, less developed young states. In addition, capitalist industrialization in the NIC's has been accompanied by mounting contradictions: Low export prices are partially covered by high domestic prices, and there are glaring disparities in the distribution of income and in the development of different sectors.

The topical nature of the issue the author examines, the abundance of documented information and the highly professional level of the research suggest that this book will take its rightful place among studies of international economic relations.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON POLITICAL PROCESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 (signed to press 22 Nov 85) p 60

[Review by Yu. Gavrilov, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Yugo-Vostochnaya Aziya: sovremennoye politicheskoye razvitiye" [Southeast Asia: Contemporary Political Development], ed-in-chief V. F. Vasilyev, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka," 1984, 294 pages: "Comprehensive Study of Political Processes"]

[Text] Political and social processes in 10 Southeast Asian countries which have chosen different patterns of development are examined in this monograph. This considerably augments our understanding of the workings of the general laws of history and the specific forms they engender.

The authors stress that the formation of a group of socialist states in Indochina, states strengthening their ties to one another and to the USSR and all countries of the socialist community, is opening up new horizons for Southeast Asia. For the people of this region, the socialist states of Indochina are not only an example of the resolution of internal problems in the interests of the laboring majority, but also a factor of peace, stability and the consistent opposition of imperialism's expansionist plans.

The information in the book gives the reader a clear understanding of the extremely complex international atmosphere surrounding the constructive efforts of the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. These countries are countering the intrigues of hostile forces with a consistent policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with neighboring states. The governments of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have repeatedly addressed the ASEAN countries with constructive proposals to improve the atmosphere in Southeast Asia. The authors of this book trace the disintegrating and integrating processes in the region, demonstrating that the severe conflicts arising from differences in sociopolitical systems do not exclude the fundamental possibility of economic and cultural cooperation between these countries. They cite numerous examples to illustrate how countries of the region are finding ways of solving common problems through collective efforts, if external forces do not intervene in their affairs.

Readers will be interested in the Soviet Orientologists' objective analysis of the increasingly pronounced sociopolitical differentiation of the

non-socialist countries of the region, leading in each case to the consolidation of forces with an interest in the capitalist pattern of development and in more extensive contacts with the West. The increasing involvement of ASEAN countries in international capitalist division of labor has made them more vulnerable to capitalism's cyclical and structural crises and to fluctuating conditions in the world market. The TNC's have been given additional opportunities to influence the choice of patterns of economic development.

The authors conclude that the objectives of economic growth in Southeast Asia today can be attained only with the active participation of the national state by means of reforms designed to surmount economic and technological underdevelopment. The authors stress that the issue of the social nature and political forms of authority is becoming a key issue with a direct effect on the developmental prospects of countries emerging from the colonial yoke.

In this book the reader will find a variety of information about the economic, social and foreign policies of states in the region, about the common and distinctive features of the political superstructure and about the unique nature of opposition forces and the reasons for their social heterogeneity and inadequate organization.

The authors cite specific examples to prove that the acute and explosive political and socioeconomic problems of the region were engendered by colonial rule, imperialist policy and the objective economic laws of capitalism.

The authors reveal the essence of the complex and multifaceted socioeconomic and political processes in Southeast Asia. The analysis conducted by these researchers will aid the general reading public and experts in gaining a better understanding of events in the region and in determining which of the current trends are dominant and which are unlikely to display any further development in the foreseeable future.

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POLITICAL-ECONOMIC HANDBOOK ON LAOS REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 85 (signed to press 22 Nov 85) pp 60-61

[Review by A. Mirov of book "Laoskaya Narodno-Demokraticheskaya Respublika. Spravochnik" [The Lao People's Democratic Republic. A Handbook] by Yu. Ya. Mikheyev, Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, 111 pages: "Successes Described in the Language of Figures"]

[Text] It has been 10 years since the declaration of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Many books and articles on the "country of a million elephants," as it was once called, have been published during this period. Publishers, however, cannot keep up with the Soviet reader's benevolent interest in this country. This is why the publication of the illustrated political-economic handbook "Laoskaya Narodno-Demokraticheskaya Respublika" seems so timely.

What distinguishes this book from previous publications? Above all, the handbook contains extensive information about the pre-revolutionary period in the country in addition to a discussion of Laos today (works of this kind, as mentioned above, already exist).

The historical journey gives the reader his own basis of comparison for the figures cited in the handbook. This is important because the scales of the republic's achievements can only be judged with a view to the dynamics of its development. The reader will judge them and will conclude that the socioeconomic process in Laos is revolutionary rather than evolutionary.

The most eloquent figures are probably the ones pertaining to education and public health. For example, more than 90 percent of the population in colonial Laos was illiterate. In our day the party and governmental objective of the eradication of illiteracy has essentially been attained (p 88). Prior to the revolution Laos had 6 hospitals, around 40 clinics and about 300 medical personnel (p 92). Now there are close to 10,000 medical workers in the LPDR. The number of hospitals and out-patient clinics has almost doubled since 1975 (p 95).

The handbook is well-structured. For example, the "Brief Historical Essay," in addition to providing opportunities for comparison to the country today, traces the entire history of the Lao people's struggle for independence and



for the triumph of socialist ideals. It reveals the significance of Great October, the defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan, the decisive role in which was played by the Soviet people and their armed forces, and the revolutionary movement in Indochina, especially the August revolution in Vietnam, in liberating Laos from colonial oppression.

The chapter on the "National Economy" contains general information and cites data on various branches of industry and agriculture. In particular, it underscores the fact that agriculture is viewed as a basis for the establishment of Laos' own industry, the reinforcement of its defensive capabilities and the elevation of the public standard of living (p 62). It is understandable that agricultural cooperatives are the focus of so much attention in the republic. The LPDR now has more than 2,100 agricultural cooperatives, uniting 90,000 families and working over 20 percent of all rice paddies (p 64).

All of this information suggests that economic construction in Laos is creative and multifaceted and that the process of revolutionary reform is growing more intense each year.

The outstanding features of the chapter on "The Enhancement of Public Well-Being and Cultural Development" include the sections on "The Press, Radio and Television" and "Physical Culture and Sports," in which the reader will find several previously unpublished facts.

The handbook also contains a brief account of the places of historical interest in the country.

It is also quite understandable that the book does not ignore the republic's many current difficulties. For example, the state socialist sector in Laos is still virtually in the embryonic stage. Not all reserves are being utilized in the development of collective agriculture. Petty private trade still occupies a prominent position. The underdeveloped transportation network has inhibited the provision of remote and alpine regions with the necessary supplies (p 65).

The Lao People's Revolutionary Party and local government organs are taking energetic measures to surmount these and other difficulties.

The reader of this book, which contains many facts and figures, will be convinced that the Lao people will achieve new and even greater successes in the construction of the foundation of socialism.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

MICRONESIAN ISLANDS TO BECOME 'AMERICAN COLONIES'

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 5, Feb 86 p 7

[Article by Alexei Voronin]

[Text] The USA is close to finally laying its hands on Micronesia, a big archipelago in the Pacific. President Reagan has signed a piece of legislation on a "free association" with the US of the three state formations of this group of islands. If the UN Trusteeship Council gives its approval to this sort of "self-determination", the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of Palau would cease to be a US trust territory but become, in effect, American colonies. The fourth state formation - the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands - has already had that sort of shackling "self-determination" imposed on it.

People of Micronesia refer to Americans as "nuclear colonialists". In 1946, when that group of islands was still occupied by the US after World War II, Bikini atoll was used as a site for an aerial nuclear test. Since then the area has been constantly used to test US missiles and nuclear weapons. Sixty-six nuclear tests were conducted on Bikini and Eniwetok atolls prior to 1958. Runit island, once covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation, will be fit for human habitation only in 25,000 years because of the high level of radiation from radioactive materials dumped there by the US.

Local people, who had inhabited the islands for ages, were hastily evacuated from the test area but not far enough away to fully protect them from the dire consequences. Today,

Nearly 30 years after the last aerial atomic explosion they are still causing diseases and deaths among the people in the Marshall Islands. Latent radiation also affects new generations. Children born to those who experienced the American tests have considerable physical defects, and infant mortality is high.

Many islands in Micronesia have of late become target areas for American nuclear missile tests. The missiles, launched from Vandenberg base in California, reach the central lagoon in Kwajalein atoll surrounded by 93 tiny islands in just 30 minutes. The atoll's role was further enhanced when Washington set out on its Star Wars programme. An interceptor missile launched from one of the islands has already brought down another missile on its flight to Kwajalein. There are American military bases, testing grounds, radar installations, stations monitoring US military satellites on 11 islands of the atoll.

Five and a half thousand former residents of the atoll are now allowed to live poorly on one small island described in UN documents as an awful slum. According to *The Canberra Times*, all protests by the local people against the unbearable conditions are cut short in a simple way - the American military base commander stops all food and water supplies to them.

The "self-determination" arrangement spells little change for the people of Micronesia. Whilst granting limited autonomy, the US reserves the right to "defend" the islanders and represent them in international affairs. Washington has picked up the opportunity of using all its military bases and testing grounds in the region for at least another 30 years.

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16 April 1986

IZVESTIYA VIEWS NEED FOR NEW ATTITUDE IN NUCLEAR AGE

PM240707 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 86 Morning Edition p 5

[Stanislav Kondrashov article: "Eye-witness Testimony on the Nature of Our World and Times"]

[Text] Dallas...

It was in Texas a year back. Together with a Soviet parliamentary delegation that I was accompanying as correspondent, I found myself in the rich, self-assured Texan city of Dallas, which is strongly associated in our minds with the assassination of President Kennedy.

The delegation flew in from Washington toward evening, checked into an expensive, new hotel, and attended a reception and dinner in its honor with Texan congressmen present. And the next morning we all set off for luncheon with a prominent local banker, the delegation members in limousines and experts and journalists in two buses, in a long convoy preceded and flanked by police motorcyclists, along highways blocked off to other traffic for the sake of greater security. It was Saturday, and the fashionable suburb had not yet fully woken up when the calm of its quiet streets was suddenly disturbed by our long automobile convoy, with policemen speeding alongside on their low motorcycles, wearing helmets with visors up and shiny, good-quality leather leggings over powerful legs.

A youthful-looking banker stood on the steps of his brick house, welcoming the guests while the news photographers and television cameramen did their job and secret service agents also took up their positions: 30 or so unassuming looking men with an iron grip on the electronics, construction, banking, aircraft, and other businesses already assembled--the business elite of Dallas, which vies with New York, Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Houston, also in Texas. The door to the back yard--what we call the garden--was also open, and there at its entrance stood his young wife, lost among the crowd, together with her son, daughter, and baby--clothed in a white shawl and help by a maid. This scene was presided over by the invisible spirit of the oft-repeated but not yet fully successful experiment known as American-Soviet relations in the nuclear age.

We took our places at the round tables in the drawing room with its open fireplace: The Americans at our table turned out to be a newspaper editor, subdued by the presence of his publisher, and the polite but stiff owner of a noted store where later that day we saw mannequins wearing coats of Siberian lynx costing over \$100,000. All this introduction, all that I describe, is given so that the reader may somehow get an idea of the place and those taking part.

Thus, after the juice and fruit and an egg-topped tortilla, the thin, crusty bread of which resembles Caucasian "lavash," the host, sitting at the top table with the leader of the Soviet delegation rose to his feet. He reminded people that roughly a quarter of a century earlier his senior partner and mentor, Averell Harriman, had also received a Soviet delegation in New York, and that in the ensuing period the center of influence in American business had shifted to the West and the South, witness our meeting. The speech then went on like many such speeches to point out the gulf separating our systems and to call for bridges to be built for the sake of peace. But there was one detail in the speech that struck everyone, one family secret, as it were, made public. It turned out that the banker's 8-year-old son, on learning of his father's intention of inviting a Soviet delegation, had been terrified and had cried out: "Pop, why are you inviting our enemies home?!" "They are not our friends, but we must maintain constructive dialogue with them," was the father's diplomatic answer to his son, which he then related to us.

But it was not his answer but the boy's cry which startled and stung us because it was we, who love our children and grandchildren, who had instilled in him, without his seeing us, fear and terror--and not only those of us who had come to Dallas for 2 days but all of us, as a vast people and as individuals.

The boy, meanwhile, was sitting among the diners in the large first-story room beneath whose windows police and secret service agents mounted guard over the guests. Small, silent, and trembling, with no right to speak in the council of his elders, he scarcely raised his head above the surface of the table. Heads turned toward him momentarily, but no one asked him anything because they wanted to spare him. And indeed, what could you ask of the child! It is the world that has to be made answerable, the world in which he and we all live. Since infancy, before he had time to form his own opinion of the world, since the time that his first instinct told him not to play with fire he had learned from adults that there existed in the world a hostile people and a dreadful country encroaching on his America. Untrue!--you will object. Yes, it is untrue but you cannot exorcise it as if it were an evil spirit, because the minds of millions of people have absorbed that untruth and it has become a powerful and resistant material force. Yes, it is an untruth, but objectively the truth did issue forth out of the mouth of that babe in Dallas--the truth about the divided, hostile world he entered with the parting advice of his elders, a world which, at the same time, appeared somehow anew to the adults mirrored in his child's mind and with all the force of a child's feeling. Moreover, in the mouth of a child, who represents the new generation, this truth perpetrated itself, as it were, spreading into the future....



The Soviet delegation leader delivered a reply speech. A clam, gray-haired man, he, too, it seemed, had been disturbed by that detail about the family's preparation for the ceremonial luncheon. He had been disturbed and, clearly, made to think along those lines where the mind of a statesman merges with that of the man whose wife, children, and grandchildren await him after work. And in that mood he also recalled a child's words, the words of his 5-year-old nephew. Learning that his grandpa was going to visit Dallas, the nephew asked him: "Why are you going there, grandpa! They kill people there."

They kill people there.... Our young boy, unlike theirs, had no philosophy of atomic hostility but only the awareness of one doleful event, a fact. But for all their self-control the Dallas billionaires sitting at the round tables shuddered. Yes, a president had been killed once. Yes, according to the crime statistics, Dallas is far from being in last place in the United States. But, the devil take it, over 20 years have elapsed since that murder, and we do not only concern ourselves with murders here, as you probably think, back home in the USSR! That is more or less what could be read on their faces at that moment, and I remembered that the previous day the visit organizers had politely but firmly declined our request, made by a colleague, to visit the scene of Kennedy's murder....

This exchange of stories about beloved offspring took place over lunch in the house of a banker. We were quiet, but the balance of children's terror was to the liking of neither hosts nor guests. And throughout that day, the images of these children who had never seen each other resurfaced in one speech after another. And in the evening, at a large reception in the neighboring city of Fort Worth, where in an atmosphere both happy and friendly the Soviet guests were presented with Texan cowboy hats, well-known Congressman Jim Wright summed up our joint thoughts and feelings. "The world creates us and we create the world," he said. "And the innocent honesty of those two children has reflected the tragedy of our times"....

Geneva and Washington...

A reshaping of awareness to speed up the solution of our domestic tasks at the same time as new thinking in international life--without whose navigation chart it is impossible to avoid the deadly reefs of the nuclear age. Those two calls, those two demands, were stressed with utmost authority at the recent party congress. Everyone of us makes our work conform to them in some way. I, too, am thinking about them here as I offer my opinion on the nature of our times.

Thanks to television we are all, so to speak, witnesses of the major events of the day, the year, and the end of the 20th century, but nevertheless we remember much more forcefully those things that we have seen or heard for ourselves. And heart-felt memories make ideas more penetrating. That is why, having begun my discussion with recollections of an incident in Dallas, I will now relate two further eyewitness impressions.

I covered the Geneva summit meeting as one of thousands of journalists but also as one of just a few dozen journalists who saw it with their own eyes.



I actually saw the two participants as they shook hands on the staircase of the Fleur d'Or villa in the Geneva suburb of Versoix. And subsequently was admitted through a side entrance as part of the second wave, hard on the heels of the Americans, into the room--the room where, scarcely having met each other and not yet having shared their opinions, they sat, half-turned toward each other, half-turned toward the representatives of the mass media. Footsteps, the muffled clamor customary in such situations, and the click of cameras... were to be heard. And then it all died down, there was only that special buzz that you get under high-voltage cables sagging under their own weight. And across the cord keeping us 3-4 paces away from the two people seated in armchairs my colleague wished Comrade Gorbachev success. President Reagan, hearing Russian words which he did not understand, looked uneasy, and Mikhail Sergeyevich, smiling, advised that the American president also be wished success. And he added:

"We must seek solutions together. If someone insists only on getting his own way, I am not convinced that will be right, that it will seem like a solution. We are mutually very dependent...."

We recorded his answer on tape, copied it into our notebooks, and translated it to the American correspondents while they waited for the end of the first meeting in the cold wind blowing from Lake Geneva. But I have not recalled these words just because I wrote them down and was witness to them. I recall them because they were very appropriate and timely.

They expressed the foundation of the new thinking, the new philosophy in international life talked about in the Soviet leaders' speeches both before and since and, finally, in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the party congress. Mutual dependence implies also concern for one's partner's security, since diminished security for one side is simply dangerous for the other, shaking an already unsteady world. Solutions can only be secured together, only by sensible compromises. And even a wish for the other side's success which contains not just civility of abstract altruism but recognition and proclamation of the fact that in the historical collaboration of the two powers both success and failure can only be the same for both, only joint, because neither on its own can permit itself to disarm or allow the other to arm....

I would now like to contrast the eyewitness testimony recorded in the Geneva wind with another piece of testimony of my own. Roughly 3 weeks prior to Geneva, with three other Soviet journalists I had a meeting with President Reagan in the White House Oval Office. Some of the president's answers to questions submitted in advance were given to us 2 hours before the interview and some, the answers to our oral questions, were sort of improvised. But even in this latter part there was one moment, which it turned out, had been prepared by our high-ranking interlocutor in advance. At the very end the President, sitting in an armchair, suddenly unfolded his arms and took out from his coat pocket a small card, explaining that he wanted to read some words that he had come across in some article or other. And he began reading out the following: "The peoples do not distrust one another because they are armed. They arm because they do not trust one another."

Both earlier, before our meeting, and afterwards the U.S. President quoted those favorite words of his from the card and from memory but they come back to me again particularly because I heard them from his mouth in his office. I have given much thought to the idea expressed in them. It is perfectly possible to agree with it: Yes, peoples and states do arm themselves because they do not trust each other. (And President Reagan has been swearing it more and more in recent weeks, trying again and again to inspire Americans with distrust of the Soviet Union so as to extract from Congress new record sums for arms, arms, and more arms). It is also possible to dispute the idea: No, on the contrary, the peoples and states distrust each other precisely because they are armed. And that is also true. This aphorism may be two-sided, as you wish, like a reversible overcoat.

It is a versatile idea. And recalling the boy from Dallas, it may be said that he fell under its spell at the age of 8 and that he may continue wandering around this vicious circle until the end of his life, as indeed the world has been wandering for 40 years since the war, growing weary under the burden of the arms race. The President's favorite aphorism does not offer a solution, on the contrary it drives us into more and more dead-ends--increasing the mountains of armaments, raising the level of military confrontation, and increasing the threat of nuclear missile--and space--war.

No, this is no new way of thinking: It is the old way, featuring the merciless exploitation of distrust, suspicion and hostility.

In Moscow...

International life abounds in currents both following and opposing, interests that either coincide or clash, intricacies, half-tones, and nuances. You cannot split them into two the way you can a log with an axe. But when we try by resolute efforts to break the vicious circle by proposing a practical phased plan to free the world of mass destruction weapons by the year 2000, the polarity existing in the world and the differences between the two systems and two social outlooks cannot fail to have an impact.

We live in the same age and face an equal danger and no one can remain aloof, but our society, engendered by the great idea of transforming people and the world, is of course by its nature better prepared and more strongly oriented toward a world without weapons than their society. In contrast to socialism, imperialism was born with the slogans of war on its lips. Our society is far more homogeneous and united in support of the program of all-embracing security than America's with its social divisions, powerful military-industrial complex, and cult of violence and permissiveness and with an administration, furthermore, which for all its conservatism is still slit into "moderate hawks and extreme superhawks in their approaches to foreign policy and military strategy. [punctuation as received]

But what is to be done? History has given us a partner of a quite different type and posed point-blank the common question: Either live together or die together. In this respect we must not be inferior to them in terms of combat

readiness and military-strategic parity. And we must be superior to them in defending the cause of peace--more expansive, noble, and magnanimous. Superior, because communist internationalists do not recognize the Biblical concept of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth when it comes to the gospel of mistrust, enmity, and hatred among the peoples preached by imperialism. Superior because we have the strength of political and spiritual example behind us. Superior because by virtue of the very nature of socialism we bear a greater responsibility for the future.

The 27th CPSU Congress confirmed all that. And provided an example of it in itself.

A sign of the changes taking place can be seen, among other things, in the fact that sensible people in the West trust us more and because it is on us that they pin their hopes--on our openness, flexibility, and constructiveness and on our persistence and staunchness in our efforts to introduce a new way of thinking into international life.

But it is too soon to rest on our laurels. As the CPSU Central Committee Political Report rightly said, "The problems of international security cannot be resolved by isolated individual peace offensive, even if they are very intensive. Success can only be achieved by consistent, systematic, and persistent work." That work is in progress, the great work of convincing and persuading the world public and, in particular, the U.S. public, the work of winning people over and reeducating them.

One hundred years ago Dostoyevskiy cited Pushkin's genius as evidence of the supreme sympathy, universality, and humanity of the Russian nature. Without seeking to qualify the great writer's insight it must be said that these qualities distinguish the best representatives of all peoples who, from century to century, carry in them the dream of justice, understanding, and brotherhood. In our time universality and humanity form a direct part of the concept of the socialist ideal and of actual socialist example. Who if now we are to dispel the fears of that child in far-off Dallas?

/6662

CSO: 1807/207

WESTERN EUROPE

INTERVIEW WITH ITALIAN TRADE UNION OFFICIALS

PM211113 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Jan 86 p 3

[Interview with Luciano Lama, secretary general of the Italian General Confederation of Labor, and Ottaviano del Turco, deputy secretary general of the confederation, by correspondent V. Prokofyev: "Developing Cooperation"--date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Before the Italian General Confederation of Labor [CGIL] delegation flew home [after 27 December 1985-8 January 1986 visit to USSR], TRUD correspondent V. Prokofyev asked CGIL Secretary General Luciano Lama and CGIL Deputy Secretary General Ottaviano del Turco to answer a few questions.

[V. Prokofyev] What are your impressions of your tour of the Soviet Union? How do you assess the role of Soviet trade unions in the system of our socialist society?

L. Lama: During the 10 days which we spent in your country we visited Moscow, Vladimir, Leningrad, and Uzbekistan. This is by no means my first visit to the Soviet Union. I have come to the USSR several times, starting in 1949. This time, as previously, I have been struck by the positive changes taking place in your country. The Soviet people's living conditions, particularly housing conditions, are improving. We were deeply impressed by rebuilt Tashkent, which was destroyed in an earthquake in 1966. Great strides have been made in the sphere of economic development.

We have seen how the trade unions function within the framework of a socio-political system so different from our capitalist one. Thus, for example, they directly control social insurance and the organization of working people's leisure and rest. The Soviet trade unions possess great powers and a constantly growing arsenal of means in the implementation of their tasks.

[V. Prokofyev] What is your opinion of the state of ties between the CGIL and Soviet trade unions and their development prospects?

L. Lama: Ties have existed between our trade union centers for more than a decade. I will note the mutual desire to impart a friendly nature of them. Our contacts have known different periods--both when mutual understanding was considerable and when tension was felt in our relations.



Speaking of the latest talks with Soviet trade union leaders, I must point out that they were cordial, friendly, fraternal, and very frank. There are issues on which we still differ. However, one should ask oneself: Must they have such a great influence on our bilateral relations? For there are many problems which we can resolve together. I believe that we must together tackle an in-depth study of a number of questions of great concern to working people both in Italy and in the USSR. This will benefit both sides. For example, the introduction of new technology in production and its influence on the social position and psychology of working people. Of course, there is a fundamental difference between the USSR and Italy on this issue: You have no unemployment, while it is a huge problem for us. But there are also common aspects. The exchange of information and experience is a very valuable thing. Or the question of the struggle for peace, which Soviet people need as well as Italians and all mankind. It is possible to find a common language here too.

O. del Turco: We advocate cooperation and a joint search for answers to questions dictated by life, although the conditions under which we work are different.

[V. Prokofyev] How does the CGIL assess the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva? Will it have a positive influence on the international trade union movement? Will the summit meeting act as a stimulus to dialogue between the trade unions of East and West, especially in Europe?

O. del Turco: We received the results of the Geneva talks with great satisfaction. A path was mapped out there along which it is now necessary to travel. But in my opinion accords between governments are not enough. Broad support from the peoples is needed. As for our organization, we will do all in our power to ensure that the hopes pinned on Geneva become a reality in relations between countries and peoples. Such steps in the direction of detente and dialogue undoubtedly help to establish relations between trade unions and peoples of all countries.

L. Lama: I entirely agree. The CGIL leads many hundreds of thousands of working people in demonstrations where the main slogan is the struggle for peace. As for dialogue between Eastern and Western trade unions, unfortunately a thaw in the international climate does not automatically lead to an improvement in their relations. For this to happen, the trade unions must act in that direction and give impetus to this process.

[V. Prokofyev] What was the CGIL's reaction to the U.S. administration's refusal to follow the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions declared by the Soviet Union?

L. Lama: We have condemned this stance on the part of the United States. In particular, we have said so in the documents prepared for our 11th Congress. The CGIL advocates an end to nuclear tests and the reduction of nuclear weapons, up to and including their total elimination.

[V. Prokofyev] You mentioned your trade union center's congress. What are the main questions and problems of social and economic development and trade union life which will be at the center of the congress' attention?



O. del Turco: There are many of them. First, unemployment. We are deeply concerned not only about the quantitative side of this problem--the country now has more than 3 million "superfluous" people--but about the qualitative side, if I may put it that way. After all, the majority of the unemployed are young people, and the regions, whose economic development lags seriously behind the country's other regions. We realize that unemployment is the scourge of all the Western countries. But the fact that we are aware of that is no reassurance. It is necessary to combat this phenomenon and fight for new economic development. Another important problem is the defense of the working people's gains, secured during a difficult struggle. This applies to the pension system, health care, and other questions. At the congress we will also discuss questions of the renewal of tactics and strategy in the trade union struggle. It is necessary to understand the changes which have taken place in our society's structure--there has recently been a fall in the number of working people employed in industry, while the service sphere is steadily expanding.

L. Lama: Indeed, that is true. There are fewer and fewer industrial workers. But when a worker swaps his factory coveralls for a white shirt and tie, he does not change his class nature. His social position, as the exploited, remains the same, but his professional level and mentality changes. We must take all this into account, so as to be a trade union not of yesterday, but of today and even tomorrow.

O. del Turco: It is also necessary to elaborate tactics with regard to businessmen, who are now trying to launch their attack directly on the workers and employees, bypassing the trade unions. In this way they are trying to eliminate the working people's organizations and sow discord in the ranks of working people.

/8918

CSO: 1825/48

WESTERN EUROPE

WRITERS' UNION REJECTS FRG INVITATION

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 86 p 14

[Text]The USSR Union of Writers has received an invitation to a congress of the FRG Union of German Writers which will take place in the middle of March of this year in West Berlin. The responding telegram from the management of the USSR Union of Writers is published below.

Stuttgart, FRG  
FRG Union of German Writers  
President Hans-Peter (Broyelyu), Secretary (Urzule Poltser)

Dear Sirs!

Thank you for the kind invitation to your congress. We were surprised to find out that it will take place on territory which does not belong to the Federated Republic of Germany. These circumstances do not permit us to take part in the work of the congress of FRG writers.

With respect,  
USSR Writers' Union

CSO: 1807/214-P

## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### SUCCESS OF COMMUNISTS IN COLOMBIAN ELECTION DISCUSSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by Vadim Listov under the rubric "Commentator's Column":  
"Noteworthy Success"]

[Excerpts] The preliminary results of the parliamentary and municipal elections which took place a few days ago in Colombia have been summed up. Their main result is the defeat of the conservative party, the victory of the liberal party and finally, the success of the left-wing forces who increased the number of their representatives in the country's legislative organs by one-third.

What was genuinely unexpected was that of the supposed 14 million voters only 7 million took part in the 9 March elections.

On this basis the success of the Patriotic Union, a coalition of leftist forces headed by the Colombian Communist Party, looks especially remarkable. From the Communist Party alone, which previously had only two deputies in the National Congress, eight representatives were elected.

In order to fully evaluate the success of the Patriotic Union one must keep in mind several circumstances. First of all, its candidates received a large number of votes from the rural regions where reaction held sway, with the help of violence, for many years. Secondly, the candidates of the union carried out their election campaign in a situation of threats, terrorist acts and political killings to which the ultra-right circles continually resorted. Third, they had to use great efforts to neutralize and overcome the schismatic and essentially provocational activity of the "leftists" who were trying to hinder the participation of the communists in the election campaign and to disrupt the process of peacemaking taking place in the country.

The self-restraint and persistence evidenced by the communists and all democrats and the correctness of their political strategy and tactics enabled them to withstand the onslaught of both the rightists and the ultra-leftists and to achieve a notable success in the elections. As General Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee Gilberto Vieira noted, the success of the Patriotic Union proves the growth of the influence of the Communist Party and other democratic organizations in the political life of the country and the strengthening of their authority among the people.

The struggle for further democratization of the political life of Colombia and for the interests of the working masses is entering a new stage.

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

ALLEGED 'HARMONY' BETWEEN JAPANESE MANAGEMENT, LABOR HIT

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 3, Jan 86 p 21

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Roginko: "Japan: What is Hidden Behind 'Social Harmony'"]

[Excerpts] In recent years, the bourgeois press in Japan and other countries of developed capitalism have evinced a real boom in publications boosting the experience of Japanese corporations in the field of labor management. Many such systems are passed off by bourgeois sociologists and economists as a "blessing" of capitalism, supposedly creating "social harmony" at the enterprises. Companies in the USA and the European Common Market are intensively monitoring the Japanese experience and attempting in every way possible to introduce it into their own labor relations in hopes of achieving "equal footing" in the competitive struggle with Japanese companies.

The Distorting Mirror of Demagogy

The greatest significance of the Japanese method of labor management is attached to the so-called "hiring for life" system. Its essence reduces to the fact that a certain portion of Japanese workers (variously estimated at 15 to 25 percent of the workforce) are life-long workers at large corporations who are to a substantial extent guaranteed that they will not be dismissed and will have a job until they retire. These workers are ensured steady wage growth based on "seniority," that is, as the length of employment with the company increases.

Based on this practice, bourgeois theoreticians have worked to create a legend of "humane and harmonic Japanese management." Thus, the well-known Japanese sociologist, Nakane Tiye, declares in his "Japanese Society" that there is no class struggle in modern Japan, that its place has been taken by the opposition of various groups (companies, for example) to one another. The greatest unity, N. Tiye writes, exists precisely within the groups, among their members (workers and capitalists); company managements are said to have become "family-like" in that the company replaces for the Japanese the patriarchal family of feudal times.

Even for the relatively privileged stratum of Japanese workers who are life-long workers at the large corporations and who are covered by the "hiring for life"

system, the work day is substantially longer than in the USA and the countries of Western Europe. Japanese corporations force their workers to pay for the relative stability of their jobs by additional expenditures of labor: according to data from the Japanese Ministry of Labor, Japanese workers work 250-450 hours more in a year than American and Western European workers. Such norms as the eight-hour work day and the five-day work week are familiar to Japanese workers basically by hearsay: 76 percent of the country's industrial workers work six days a week, and the work day is substantially longer than eight hours. This is done through what is called "voluntary" overtime put in by the workers.

The large corporations stress in every way possible the eliteness of their life-long workers, requiring loyalty and the highest labor intensiveness of them. The whole labor management system is built on massive ideological processing of the workers, on using the most diverse forms of forcing workers into "expected behavior." Putting their trust in the not unknown thesis that a lie repeated often enough becomes perceived as truth, Japanese monopolists are not sparing in their efforts to introduce their social demagoguery into the consciousness of the workers: company hymns are composed and are sung by workers every day and meetings are held to explain "company values." At Matsushita Denki, for example, each worker or employee working in a given group is obligated to make a report at least once every two months to his group on the company and its relationship to society. Such total, daily "brainwashing" to eliminate any display of disloyalty is promoted by bourgeois ideologists as exemplary concern by the company for people, for helping them to become more "self-aware."

#### "Human Management" Inside Out

The permanent corporation workers often recognize the true price of hiring "for life" only when they are outside the corporation gates. The fact is that, in Japan, there is mandatory retirement at age 55, after which the worker turns out to be effectively without sufficient means to exist, inasmuch as there is no state social security in the country. The "paternal" concern of the company does not go beyond a retirement bonus; a system of intracompany pensions is a very great rarity: only a few corporations have agreed, under pressure from the workers, to this innovation. People who have given the corporation the best years of their lives are faced with the prospect of 15-20 years of vegetating.

Such is the life of the "elite." But what about the others? And, incidentally, these "others" are the overwhelming majority, variously estimated to be 75 to 85 percent of the entire able-bodied population of Japan. These are the "temporary" workers of large companies, workers in small and medium-sized companies. Deprived of any guarantees whatsoever of employment or social insurance, they are always under threat of dismissal. The wages of workers and employees at small and medium-sized companies are 50-60 percent that of workers in the large firms; the wage gap has steadily increased since 1970. Small and medium-sized Japanese enterprises serving the technologically-advanced large corporations generally have obsolete and sometimes primitive equipment; working conditions in them are archaic and do not consider even the essential requirements of equipment safety.



The British journal MANAGEMENT TODAY, summing up the results of a survey of working conditions in Japan, notes: "The picture is more reminiscent of a book by Charles Dickens than of the ordinary face of a 20th century society of prosperity." Like the capitalists of Dickens' time, Japanese small entrepreneurs mercilessly squeeze surplus value out of the workers by lowering wages and lengthening the work day: at small and medium-sized enterprises, this journal explains, the worker labors 300-600 hours a year more than in the large companies.

#### Superprofits -- The Primary Goal

Peeking behind the glossy dust-jacket of "social harmony," the reality of capitalist exploitation is obvious. The example of Japan testifies foremost to the fact that growth in capitalist production is impossible on the basis of humaneness -- is achievable only in its absence.

The high-flown phrases of monopolists and bourgeois theoreticians about "harmonious" relations between labor and capital cannot deceive a majority of the Japanese workers, who have themselves experienced the rising level of exploitation. Public opinion surveys have shown deep dissatisfaction among workers with their own situation at the enterprises: 68 percent of Japanese workers are not content either in their jobs or with the administration. Disillusionment and dissatisfaction run especially high among young people, who are subjected to wage discrimination under the "seniority" system; 86 percent of young Japanese disagree with the system of arbitrariness and coercion they encounter in the companies. At the same time, young people are more indifferent than older workers to company affairs; they are more passive and have less interest in embarking on any "voluntary" sacrifice for the good of the entrepreneurs.

Japanese workers are waging a stubborn struggle against the arbitrariness of the monopolies and for broader personal rights. The trade unions are demanding an increase in social benefits and wages, a five-day work week, an increase in the retirement age, and an end to wage discrimination. The scope of the mass "spring" and "summer" worker offensives testify to their lack of faith in "class peace" and to the resolve of the working class to fight for social change.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

VOA STATION IN NEGEV SAID U.S. 'PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE' WEAPON

TA081500 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 7 Feb 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Official sources in Israel have announced that the infrastructure work for the installation of the VOA relay transmitters has begun in the 'Arava. The area has been plotted and a decision was made on the transfer of equipment for the earthwork.

The impression is that the master of psychological warfare beyond the ocean, and the enemies of the socialist countries, have all the reasons to be happy. Here, one of the most ingrained visions of the political top echelon in Washington, to put Israel at the forefront of the anti-Soviet campaign, is coming true. It is easy to understand what Washington stands to gain from this. After all, if Israel makes a greater contribution to the anti-Soviet (?salute) of imperialism this will strengthen its strategic alliance with the United States. Another reason, no less important, is that if Israel joins the U.S. anti-Soviet campaign at such a level this will eliminate any chances for improving its relations with the socialist countries.

Washington needs this to make sure that Israel continues to serve the United States in the future as well, and that it conducts an aggressive policy to bolster U.S. interests in the Middle East.

Official circles in the United States wishing to install relay transmitters of anti-Soviet propaganda in Israel and to incorporate Israel in the psychological war understand very well that these moves will not only have an adverse effect on the Soviet Union, but will also harm the entire complex of relations among the countries. It seems that the Israeli top echelon also realizes this. However, if this is the case, it means that there is not even a trace of truth to the recent statements made by Israeli Cabinet ministers to the effect that they want to renew diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and to improve relations with the socialist countries as a whole.

That is to say, the words and the needs do not go hand in hand. It is a regrettable fact that the (?supporters of the transmitters) in Israel are

being dragged about by the extremist anti-Soviet circles in Washington who hate anything related to the Soviet Union, both its socialist regime, our economic system, and the support extended to liberation movements throughout the world by the socialist countries.

Those serious Israelis who believe that the Cabinet's decision, to use the U.S. relay transmitters to expand anti-Soviet propaganda, will drag Israel into the ideological struggle between socialism and the imperialist West, along with the extreme right in the United States, are absolutely correct. Through this move, Israel demonstrates loyalty to the unfit [word indistinct] concepts which are aimed at undermining the socialist regime.

Israeli decisionmakers however, should not forget that the psychological warfare that has been waged against the Soviet people by the imperialist circles has never borne any significant results, except perhaps for deteriorating the international situation and exacerbating the tension. Those who wanted, and still want, to mislead the Soviet public and to sow doubts about the supremacy of the socialist regime eventually suffer a devastating failure.

The same fate awaits the new followers of the anti-Soviet propagandists who are trying to distort the nature of Soviet policy.

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CSO: 4423/88

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

CPSU ( EMBER PASTUKHOV ON SOVIET-SYRIAN RELATIONS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Oct 85 p 5

[Interview with Boris Nikolayevich Pastukhov, chairman of the USSR-Syria "Friends Society", member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the State Committee for Publishing Houses Printing Plants and the Book Trade, by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent on the anniversary of the Oct 8, 1980 conclusion of the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic: "On a Solid Basis"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What is the significance of the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation for the Development of Bilateral Soviet-Syrian Relations?

[Answer] Syria is a country of ancient culture, and its people, having contributed considerably to world civilization, has long had a variety of contacts with our country. Concerning the Soviet state, it firmly supported, literally from the first days of its existence, the freedom fight of the Syrian patriots and persisted in unmasking the imperialistic policy of enslaving Syria.

In the past decades, the equal and mutually beneficial Soviet-Syrian cooperation and relations contacts in diverse areas between both countries have been steadily improving and have reached a very high level. Having the desire to raise them to a still higher level, Soviet and Syrian sides concluded in 1980 the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation.

Since the conclusion of this agreement, the political relations between the Soviet Union and Syria have become still stronger, and the cooperation between the CPSU and the Arab Socialist Resurrectionist Party as well as the relations between the social organizations of both countries have been expanded. During the negotiations between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev and the General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Resurrectionist Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic Hafiz Assad in June of this year, mutual satisfaction was expressed with the successful development of the many-sided relations between USSR and SAR (Syrian Arab Republic) on the solid basis of the agreement.

[Question] How does the agreement contribute to a just Near East regulation and to stabilization of the situation in the region?



[Answer] First of all, this agreement was concluded in the name of peace and not for the sake of war. At the same time, it makes an important contribution to resisting the aggressive plans of imperialism and zionism with respect to Syria and other Arab countries and people. The Soviet Union and Syria are of the same opinion regarding the fact that the USA and Israel are increasing their aggressive pressure on the Arabs by acting in the framework of the "strategic cooperation" agreement representing a completely different, imperialistic type of international relations. Under these conditions, the further strengthening of Soviet-Syrian relations is not only beneficial to both countries, but also positively influences the position of the Arabs in their resistance to the hegemonic imperialistic and zionist plans in the region.

With the friendly support of the Soviet Union and the patriotic forces of the Arab world, Syria successfully resists the aggressors and their supporters. The Syrian people and its friendship with the Soviet Union successfully endured a severe test in the summer of 1982 when Israel, with the support of the USA, not only began to unleash a cruel aggressive war against the Lebanese and Palestinian nations, but also tried a strike against the Syrian armed forces. The Israeli aggressors finally failed to achieve their goal, and were, in fact, defeated.

The Soviet Union and Syria have the same distaste for the separate negotiations being conducted behind the back of the Arab nations--the Camp David process--which are now obviously deadlocked. In the Soviet Union, the principally anti-imperialistic policy of Syria, firmly protecting the national interests and legal rights of the Arabs is highly valued.

[Question] Boris Nikolayevich, since you, as the chairman of the USSR-Syria "Friendship Society," often meet with the political and social representatives of the SAR, and not long ago you made a trip to the SAR at the head of the Soviet delegation, tell us please about your impressions.

[Answer] The Syrians are a proud, freedom-loving people as well as a sociable, benevolent, and hospitable people. This is how I found them to be during our stay in the SAR in February of this year. The Syrian people is building and developing its national culture under difficult conditions, warding off the pressure and intrigues of the enemies, which is very costly for the economy and resources of this small country.

I was very impressed by the meeting with the chairman of SAR, the General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Resurrectionist Party, Hafiz Assad--a great friend of our country. This far-sighted and authoritative leader is a patriot of his country and the Arab world, whose role and weight must be taken into consideration in the Near East and in international affairs even by the enemy. He is a prominent representative of the liberation movement of the Arab nation and the non-aligned movement. Hafiz Assad has made, and continues to make, a great personal contribution to the strengthening of Soviet-Syrian and Soviet-Arab friendship. According to his instructions, especially in party and state policy, decisions have been made in the SAR on most favored development of trade relations with

the countries of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, and attention to Soviet--Syrian cooperation has been increased. The president of the SAR, as well as other national leaders, show steady support for the activity of the Soviet and Syrian societies of friendship.

The cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria has endured with honor the trial of time; they were tempered in the common fight for peace and progress against the imperialists. Based on the firm foundation of the agreement signed five years ago, it takes new forms and directions while progressing toward new perspectives.

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CSO: 1807/113

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA INTERVIEWS ANC 'ARMY COMMANDER'

PM141525 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Mar 86 Second Edition p 3

[Conversation between Joe Modise, commander of the African National Congress People's Army, and correspondent A. Golts: "There is No Other Way"--date and place unspecified]

[Excerpts] ...A military post has been attacked. A bridge and a plant have been destroyed... Barracks have been fired on. Reports of that kind are being received more and more often from South Africa. For almost 25 years now, fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation")--the People's Army of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC]--have been waging armed struggle against the racist regime.

"We have no way to freedom without armed struggle. The apartheid regime has left us no alternative," Joe Modise, member of the ANC National Executive Committee and commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, stated in conversation with your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent. Our conversation took place during the 27th CPSU Congress, to which Comrade Modise was invited.

Joe Modise became commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1965.

"Throughout those years our detachments' operations have had tremendous organizational significance," Comrade Modise stressed. "People throughout the country have seen them as a call to resistance and hope of freedom from oppression. Umkhonto we Sizwe has now grown in size and strengthened organizationally. It has been turned into the People's Army. Its combat groups, operating across the country's entire territory, are capable of conducting complex operations. I should like to recall here how the South African Air Force headquarters was blown up 2 years ago. The explosion was carried out using a remote-controlled mine produced by our organization's military engineers. And at the end of last year simultaneous strikes were made against major South African economic facilities--plants belonging to Sasol, the synthetic fuel producing company.

"In all," Comrade Modise said, not concealing his pride, "we carried out 180 operations in 1985. Our army's combat groups have been attacking army patrols and outposts and bridges and sabotaging railroad lines and power stations. I should like to stress in particular that we have gained experience of waging

guerrilla warfare. Resolute, skillful commanders have been trained. Here is a recent example. Two guerrilla groups were instructed to mine a military zone in Transvaal Province. They were to operate separately from each other. We estimated that the operation would only take part of a night and that both groups would have time to return to base before dawn. It transpired, however, that one group was unable to reach the target region in time. When they arrived it was already becoming light. The operation was on the brink of failure. However, the commander took the decision to mine the zone by day. He calculated that this was precisely when the mines planted by the other group would go off. And that, therefore, all the guard subunits and pursuit detachments would be transferred to that area. The calculation worked: The guerrillas planted their mines virtually under the soldiers' noses and returned to the operational base area without suffering any losses. Several military trucks were blown up by those mines."

I asked Comrade Modise to assess the whole military and political situation in South Africa today.

"The situation is very complex," the People's Army commander noted. "We are witnessing an unprecedented crisis in the regime. Many thousands of oppressed people have risen up in struggle. And apartheid cannot take the heat out of the protest actions either by bloody repression or by courting individual groups within the black population. We believe that the activity of the ANC and its military wing considerably promoted that growth in the oppressed masses' self-awareness. Hundreds of thousands of Africans, coloreds, and Indians are taking part in protest demonstrations and strikes and are coming to terms with the idea of organized armed struggle.

In the face of this eruption of popular indignation the South African ruling circles are trying to maneuver. They have announced the lifting of the State of Emergency that they previously imposed. But this does not change the essence of what is happening. The civil structures of the apartheid state cannot contain the liberation movement. The racist regime is ruling exclusively by means of military force, terror, and mass repressions.

The African population is boycotting the organs of power foisted on it. Street committees--prototypes of the future people's power--are being set up in the townships. And let us note that all this is taking place in a state equipped with the most powerful apparatus of repression!

"In view of the upsurge of the liberation movement," Comrade Modise said, "the ANC has proclaimed this year Umkhonto we Sizwe year. Our struggle must be raised to a new level. Essentially we are talking about launching a people's war."

Joe Modise stressed that the further development of the struggle against South Africa's racist regime will undoubtedly affect the situation in southern Africa as a whole. South Africa will be forced to reduce its support for the terrorist gangs shipped into Angola and Mozambique and withdraw its troops from Namibia and the captured areas of Angolan territory.



"Of course," Joe Modise said, "it would be a mistake to underestimate the enemies' strength. The racist regime has a powerful army and a repressive apparatus at its disposal and is supported by world imperialism headed by the United States. But it must be seen that the apartheid system is so corrupt and so bankrupt that its downfall is simply a matter of time."

"Those of us who struggle against the apartheid regime," Comrade Modise said at the end of the conversation, "are profoundly grateful for the support from the Soviet Union. That course was confirmed at the 27th CPSU Congress, too. No matter how complex our struggle, it will continue and we shall be victorious."

...Literally on the eve of our conversation another report came out of South Africa that patriots had blown up a police headquarters in Johannesburg and destroyed a power station in Durban.

The struggle goes on, and the people of South Africa will undoubtedly win!

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CSO: 1807/200

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

RSFSR PAPER DESCRIBES RSA-BACKED ESPIONAGE IN ANGOLA

PM181025 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Mar 86 First Edition p 3

[Article by L. Fitun: "The Secret Life of an 'Accountant'"]

[Text] ...In March Amilcar Freire, who worked under contract as an accountant for the British Africa Textile factory in the city of Benguela, was as usual spending his leave back home. During a party at a friend's Lisbon villa he got acquainted with Charles Austin, a sociable guy and, as it turned out, a South African national. An animated conversation was struck up since the main topic of discussion was the fact that, more than 10 years earlier, when Angola was still a Portuguese colony, Freire had made a tourist trip around South Africa or, more precisely, its "white zones." He liked it there: After all, South Africa does have one of the world's highest living standards. And the apartheid system itself did not disturb him. Having found a common language, the interlocutors decided to continue their acquaintance and agreed to meet in the small but cosy Monaco restaurant.

It was during that meeting that Austin announced that he was an officer in the South African security service and suggested that Freire cooperate with the South African intelligence service. The accountant gave his assent almost without hesitation. Although, it is true, he did stipulate that he would like to receive his payment for the information in cash during his trips to Portugal to avoid any difficulties with bank transfers. The fee was fixed at \$250 per report. It was proposed that communications be maintained by placing advertisements in a specialist British magazine.

Freire received a questionnaire from Austin to guide him in gathering information. The South African intelligence service was particularly interested in the state of affairs in sectors of the Angolan national economy such as oil extraction, fishing, and coffee production. The information gathered was to be sent by letter to a fictitious relative at an address in Portugal. The address was that of one of the South African intelligence service's secret apartments in Europe.

On returning to Angola Freire began to collect economic information. A fresh meeting with his boss took place in December 1982. Meantime he had demonstrated his zeal.

The South African intelligence center leadership decided that it was time to use the agent for more serious assignments. At a routine meeting in their favorite Monaco restaurant Austin told Freire that he should switch to collecting military information. Moreover, the agent was put on a permanent monthly salary of \$500, irrespective of the amount of information received by the information center. This was special recognition of the value of the reports received from the Portuguese.

Back in Portugal he had long associated with emigres from Angola in the hope that they would lead him to "reliable people" still in Angola. And in fact a "good man" called (A. Kamati), from the city of Lubango, was pointed out to him. He could not have been more suitable for Freire, as he was a soldier whose regime was stationed in the south of the country and a sociable type. Freire began to transmit the information received from (Kamati) to the U.S. [as published] Embassy in Lisbon.

Investigation materials confirm that Pretoria was seeking up-to-the-minute information on the Angolan defense system. The ("Mak") group of agents, in particular, was instructed to collect information about the location of Angolan air-defense centers, the level of combat capability of People's Army units, the plans for combat operations against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) bandits, and the location and numbers of Cuban subunits and their arms.

The ("Mak") group and its accomplices had a lot of work on their hands, but the Lisbon bank account also increased. Freire tried to satisfy his bosses' every request. The latter worked at upgrading his skills as an agent. During a routine visit to Lisbon the accountant was handed an air ticket to Johannesburg in addition to his \$9,000 fee.

At the South African airport he was met by Charles Austin himself. An automobile took them to the fashionable verdant district of Green Hill, where a smart apartment was put at the Portuguese's disposal. Meetings were held there with Lieutenant Colonel Jacobus (Everkhardus) Louw, military attache at the South African Embassy in Lisbon and a leading "specialist on Angola." This was followed by days of study. The "teachers" visited him at home. Freire studied promising new espionage methods and the use of equipment and received new guidelines.

On returning to Angola (taking a roundabout route via Lisbon) he again tried to expand his agent network. He was already using a radio set (a Sony IC 2001) and even a personal computer (a Texas Instruments TI-30 No. 788949) in his activities. Port Lobito became an object of special attention. ("Mak") and its accomplices particularly watched ships from socialist countries which put in there. The spies were interested in the kind and quantity of freight arriving in southern Angola. It is possible that they directed the South African special services and their UNITA agents in attempts to organize a series of sabotage acts on board Cuban and GDR ships.

However, Angolan security organs had already had the criminal group's activity under observation for some months. In the end Freire and his accomplices were caught red-handed. The investigation lasted a year. The organs of justice, after collecting the requisite information, fully proved the defendants' guilt. The investigation completely refuted the South African authorities' false claims that they desire to live in peace with their neighbors. The unseemly role played by other imperialist powers, whose special services were also involved in anti-Angolan activity, was also revealed. The apartheid regime and its trans-Atlantic friends and protectors found themselves once again sitting in the dock alongside the spies.

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

### CAPTURED RSA DIARY EVIDENCE OF NKOMATI ACCORD VIOLATIONS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by B. Pilyatskin: "Behind the Scenes--A Diary Found in Gorongosa"]

[Text] For the African peasants, whose life goes on in the savanna, its many voices are customary after sunset. They easily distinguish the rustle of tall grass from the cautious steps of a scared impala. But for some time entirely different sounds have intruded into the noisy darkness of Mozambique. In various outlying areas, the inhabitants often hear the roar of airplanes and helicopters arriving from the neighboring Republic of South African (RSA).

Three planes appeared not long ago over Manisoy, 80 kilometers from Maputo. In sight of the peasants from the small village of Impamputo, located near the border of Swaziland, two helicopters descended and then rose in the air and hid behind the hills. As a rule, soon after such "visits" the twisted girders of bridges collapse, depots are burned by saboteurs, and buses with passengers are blown up by mines.

By taking guerrillas from the so-called Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), trained in the South African territory, and regularly supplying them with arms and military equipment, the RSA seeks to keep Mozambique in a state of constant tension, to disturb its internal economic relations and aggravate the economic difficulties of the country, and to hinder realization of the projected development plans of the Frelimo Party.

RSA authorities in March of last year even concluded the "Treaty of Nkomati" in accordance with which they pledged to respect the sovereignty of Mozambique and not to lend any support to the MNR. The signature of President Botha appears on this document. However, every time the Mozambique side turns attention to Pretoria's violation of the agreement, they take on a look of feigned bewilderment, citing the absence of real proof of participation in the actions of the guerrillas.

But here the men of the Popular Forces of the Liberation of Mozambique (Army of the Republic), together with Zimbabwe soldiers, who are giving help to the fraternal "frontline" government, knocked out the main base of the MNR in Gorongosa National Park, where they established their headquarters, and the covert system of cooperation of higher officials of the RSA with the MNR was revealed in detail.

These details are scrupulously recorded in the diary of Joaquim Vaz, which was discovered among the belongings and equipment abandoned by the guerrillas in their hurried flight from Gorongosa. Publication of the contents of the diary by information agencies of Mozambique provoked a mixture of rage and embarrassment in Pretoria. And although several weeks have passed since the "leakage of the great secret", as one South African newspaper put it, the political scandal in the higher echelons of power of the country of apartheid has not faded away.

Let us turn to the text of those entries made by Vaz, who was secretary under the leader of the MNS, Alfonso Jacama. One day he reported an encoded telegram from Pretoria which confirmed the dispatch of freight weighing 26 tons accompanied by two South Africans. After carrying out this task, it was said further in the report, "the group returned by plane with an even greater load." Two days later, Vaz indicated what was arranged for the meeting with the representatives of the South African Army Command in Durban. The following entry was made a month later. In it is cited a list of military equipment sent by Pretoria to the MNS. On the list is fuel, radio transmitters, and compasses.

In the pages of the diary every now and then appear the names of highly placed officers of the army and secret service of the RSA who brought about direct contact with the MNS. Jacama, the leader of the guerrillas, appealed in a familiar way to one of them, Colonel Charles van Nierkerk, in his messages, calling him unceremoniously by his first name: "I appreciate, Charles, the work that you did and continue to do with unmatched love and devotion."

It is unnecessary to say that official zeal in territorial activities against independent Mozambique is not quite a personal "service" of van Nierkerk. He received such instructions from his immediate supervisors. Among them in the diary are mentioned the Chief of Military Intelligence of the RSA, General van der Westhuizen; The Commander of the Armed Forces, General Konstand Viljoen; and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Luis Nel. The latter, it has been disclosed, himself flew three times to Gorongosa where he instructed his underlings how to stir up subversive actions.

According to reports of the South African newspaper FINANCIAL MAIL, President P. Botha made a special declaration that he trusted Viljoen "without reservation." It is no wonder then that Pretoria has tried to portray the gross violation of its treaty commitments and subversive activities with respect to Mozambique as only certain technical (!) infringements of the Nkomati Accord". As to the provisions of weapons and equipment to the guerrillas, that in the language of the South African racists is termed "humanitarian aid." It is not difficult to guess where such an "argument" is borrowed from: Under the name of "humanitarian aid" in Washington they camouflage support of the counterrevolutionary group UNITA, which operates in the territory of Angola.

The clumsy excuses of the government of RSA have provoked sharp criticism from the opposition. One of the prominent figures of the Progressive Federal Party, Colin Egline, has demanded a Parliamentary investigation. Amid unceasing anti-

racist speeches and the intensifying armed struggle of the broad masses, while the ground shakes under their feet, P. Botha has preferred to partially quell the passions that flared after publication of Vaz's diary.

Chief of Military Intelligence General Westhuizen has been made Secretary of the Council on Questions of Security under the President of the Country, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Nel has been transferred to a position of the same rank in the office of the President. As regards to the Commander of the Armed Forces Viljoen, it was well known even earlier that he intended to retire, so they saw him off with honor. As we can see, not one of the principal characters taking part in the scenario of the Pretoria performance "Humanitarian Aid to the MNS" has suffered particularly. Supplies to the guerrillas of everything needed continue as usual. Recently, the Mozambique agency AIM observed South African planes and helicopters systematically invading the airspace of the country. Moreover, in the pages of the western press has been reported that besides the dropping into the territory of Mozambique counterrevolutionary bands and supplies of their arms, the RSA is actively taking part in the training of white mercenaries.

Military intelligence, in collaboration with former Portuguese colonists who fled to the RSA after the declaration of independence of Mozambique, has recruited mercenaries groups of commandos for subversive actions in the province of Maputo. As one who publishes in the London magazine AFRICA writes they saw Europeans in the ranks of MNS in the area of the Mozambique town of Resanu-Gracia near the RSA border and in the environs of Namaawa where the border with Swaziland runs.

Threads of a conspiracy stretch from the RSA to Lisbon. There, before the eyes of the authorities, have been based such "godfathers" of MNS as the former commander of the Colonial Army in Mozambique, Kaulza di Arriaga, and the violent followers of the fascist dictator Salazar Barboza, who held important real estate in what was then known as Lorensu-Markish (now Maputo). Recruiting the Portuguese and even citizens of the FRG, France, and other countries of Western Europe to the ranks of the original terrorist organizations, they send them across to South Africa where they go through training and instruction in special camps.

According to South African Press reports, in the middle of last month the MNS and mercenaries stirred up subversive actions. The operation splendidly bears the name Lev-85.

With anger and contempt, the inhabitants of Mozambique call the guerrillas "hyenas." Having lost their lair in Gorongosa the hyenas have bared their teeth anew. To free the Mozambique land of them is a military task of the republic.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC AID TO ANGOLA--Under an intergovernmental protocol signed in Moscow the Soviet Union will expand economic assistance to Angola. Technical assistance is to be provided to carry out a number of industrial and farming projects. The Soviet Union will help build several machinery and tractor stations, a large meat processing factory, and draw up a program for developing petrochemicals. [Text] [Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 28 Jan 86 LD] /8918

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